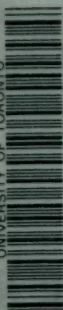


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

MACBETH

BY

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AND

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*Editors of POET-LORE; of Robert Browning's Works, Camberwell Edition;  
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NEW YORK ·· CINCINNATI ·· CHICAGO  
AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

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ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL, LONDON.

SHAKS. STUDIES: MACBETH.

W. P. I.

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## PREFACE

WHOEVER lifts a finger in the service of Shakespeare must feel at once how he is but one more in a fellowship every hour enlarging its bounds, and how to that fellowship he is at every turn deeply indebted.

This feeling of community and of indebtedness is the more ours in such a book as this. For it culls and collects at will such diverse scattered comment and opinion as suits its purpose, — to build upon the basis of a preliminary study of the play itself suggestive comparisons and contrasts likely to evoke genuine thought, discussion, and appreciative criticism.

Having a keen sense of the necessary dependence of any such book upon foregoing books, it is our desire to express here our gratitude to all predecessors whose work has yielded aught to this volume; and most of all to our friends, the American editors of Shakespeare, Dr. Horace Howard Furness and Dr. W. J. Rolfe, whom we and all lovers of the poet are perpetually bound to honor, and, among æsthetic critics, to Professor Hiram Corson and Dr. R. G. Moulton, whose thought, we feel, has often kindled ours.

One other word.

It should be pointed out here that — in addition to the 'Macbeth' Study Programme, which originally appeared in *Poet-lore* and to the special studies of the characters, the supernatural in the play, its language, etc., all leading up to the 'Moot Points for Discussion' — there follows an entire Section devoted to extracts from Elizabethan books which probably were Shakespeare's library, and by which his genius was in various ways influenced. The links connecting these extracts with the play are made the sub-

jects of the special study opened in 'Shakespeare's Model in his Literary Material,' and they are introduced in the course of one or two of the other special studies.

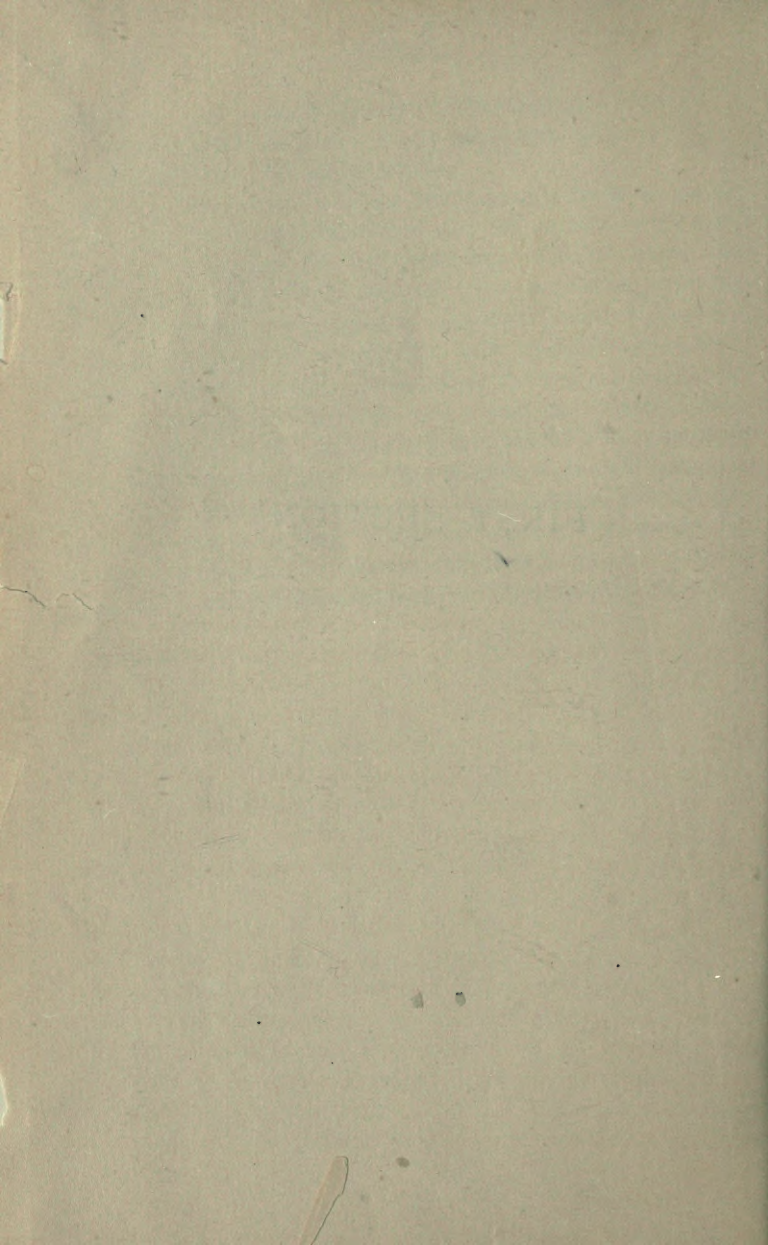
It has not been usual to make Shakespeare's books accessible, in this way, to the school student and the general reader; still less usual to suggest a line of comparison. But it is hoped that the manner in which this is done will prove peculiarly interesting.

The delightful archaic flavor of an antique book evaporates in too much modernizing, yet with too little modernizing is a flavor sealed from many readers. By retaining the original spelling and wording, but modernizing the long *s* and the interchangeable letters *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, and the like, it is believed that the charm of the books Shakespeare handled is open to modern eyes; and that readers may become wonted, thus, to another day than their own, and gain something, it may be, also, of that insight into literary characteristics of different epochs in human development upon which æsthetic discrimination and pleasure often depend.

BOSTON.



FIRST SECTION



## PART I. SHAKESPEARE STUDY PROGRAMME: PLOT AND PROGRESS

### ACT I. — FORTUNE TEMPTS

*Topic.* — Macbeth's 'Day of Success.'

*Hints for Study of this Topic.* — Are there any surprises in 'Macbeth'? — that is, is any event so sudden that the idea of it is not introduced to foreshadow the actual fact?

Examine Act I. in the light of this query, noticing what the main line of the action is, and how it is led up to in anticipation.

Scene i., in stage-setting alone — the 'desert place,' the 'thunder and lightning' — is at once significant of the nature of the play. The general atmospheric impression produced by cosmic nature itself a sympathetic image of the tragedy in general, and in particular of the pending battle about which the witches are talking, and of some vaguely felt issue hanging upon it for the man whom the witches are proposing to meet when the battle is decided. The whole scene is like a prologue bearing in it the seeds of the action to follow, and suggesting broadly, also, the influence of environment and occasion on man, especially upon the man named — the hero of the drama — Macbeth.

In this little scene the Third Witch says the definite things. She declares that the battle will be decided at sunset. She names Macbeth as the one upon whom their agreement to meet centers. Is this an indication of some intention to give individual character to the witches? It may be held in mind for comparison with their later appearances to see whether it is borne out or not. Is it, rather, simply a dramatic device for bringing out effectively the telltale points?



Scene ii. is taken up with news of the battle which scene i. has already told us is in dispute. The news brought by the first messenger, the Sergeant, is incomplete: the mind is only half relieved by his report from the desperate state of struggling equilibrium which he paints with the turgid metaphors of a strong man straining every nerve to tell his exciting story, before he dies of the bloody gashes he has received but is ignoring.

It takes a second messenger, Ross, to complete the account of the revolt; and the breathlessness which marks the scene, quieted down with the surety of the success of the king's arms over the rebellion and invasion, is shifted to the second subject of suspense and interest, already singled out by the witches — to the man 'disdaining fortune,' — brave Macbeth.

The event of this scene — the victory — is thus both foreshadowed and left hanging in doubt from the first, and from Macbeth's relation to it comes a foreboding, also awakened by the first scene, that new treason may grow.

The *rendezvous* of the witches with Macbeth promised in the first scene is left to be taken up. All that was sinister in the appointment to meet him on the heath after the fate of the battle was decided, is developed in scene iii.

As regards the witches alone, it may be noticed that here again the third witch seems to be the one most intent upon Macbeth. To her is given the climax in their greeting of him. She hails him with the title that makes him start. By the strange effect of that greeting upon him this scene is made ominous of an event to grow out of the only actual fact made known in the scene — namely the announcement to Macbeth of his accession to the place of the Thane of Cawdor. Even this is not a new fact in itself, but only as to its announcement to Macbeth. As a fact accomplished it belongs to the preceding scene.

What is the new event then, of this scene which constitutes a fresh step in the plot and overshadows Act II.? Is it external or psychological?

Contrast the effect of Ross's announcement on Banquo and

Macbeth. What light do their remarks throw on the situation?

What are the events of scene iv.? Is there nothing new externally except the announcement of the king that he bequeaths his crown to his eldest son? This announcement brings out an inner eventfulness of far more importance. Macbeth's preconceived ambition, that he has been brooding over and that the witches have newly roused, is suddenly revealed in its worst aspect by this setback. The clash of the king's announcement with his secretly cherished designs is like a glare of lightning to see him by at the instant when his mind is leaping to attain his heart's desire, at any cost, despite any obstacle. Of course, as the kinsman of the king and a powerful noble, he might have acceded to the throne of Scotland (which was not then necessarily hereditary) without violence, if the king had not thus declared his intention to secure his son's succession. By this declaration his mind is driven to the general idea of foul play. But does it lead him to any immediate definite plan of action?

Is there any indication in this scene that the king's next announcement of his intention to honor Macbeth by becoming his guest at Inverness is seized upon by Macbeth as convenient for his ambitious purpose? Should the actor of the part here show by implication that he is alive to it? Or must he be careful lest he overact? Ought he to make this scene forebode the next, but without anticipating it so far as to interfere with the effectiveness of Lady Macbeth's first appearance?

In scene v. the king's visit to Inverness is brought out in all the horrible significance of its fitness to tempt and serve Macbeth's ambition. But it is brought out through the effect of the announcement on Lady Macbeth. Macbeth himself seems to have been so preoccupied with the check to his ambition when Duncan announced Malcolm as his heir that his mind failed to seize the 'nearest way' to the end he was even then avowing to himself. Was he less quick witted than Lady Macbeth, although not dependent on her for evil aims and suggestions?

Is the measure of his dependence upon her shown in scenes iv. and v. to be the debt of a bad intention upon intuition and mental grasp of the situation, *i.e.* on both insight and executive plan for the enterprise that will consummate the bad deed he intends?

What does scene v. accomplish? Is any altogether fresh fact brought to light? Is Lady Macbeth herself its great event? The scene summarizes all that has gone before, but unfolds its implications and points the drift of the action already in movement; and it apparently does this, by making us see the whole sharply and definitely through Lady Macbeth's sensitive response to Macbeth's desires and her pitilessly clear logic upon the convenient opportunity which events have shaped to suit them. Show in detail how the scene is made vividly ominous of the deed now breathlessly looming ahead of them.

Scenes vi. and vii. take on swiftly the necessary intervening action of small happenings—the king's arrival, the banqueting time, the details of the plan for the night. Macbeth's half-hearted withdrawal from his resolution is dexterously bound up with the arrangement of these details. He has not seen how to do safely and effectively what he wants done on that night, and he requires Lady Macbeth to screw him up again, not merely by heartening him, but by showing him a feasible plausible method. Does it make him any the less responsible for the plot? Does his executive weakness tempt her and elicit all her power for evil quite as much as her executive ability leads him on?

How does the influence of the two on each other intensify the impression here of headlong action?

The faltering at the crucial moment of Macbeth as the instrument of the impending deed acts like a cold wind on the fire of Lady Macbeth's directing force to make it glow more fierily and powerfully. Her spiritual energy and practical ability in this way soon react upon Macbeth, who adds such body and momentum to their plot that, as the scene closes, the imagination of the



audience or the reader rushes on irresistibly toward the fore-shadowed murder.

Sum up the actual events of Act I. on the one side, and on the other, the subjective events, so to speak, and contrast their influence on the plot and their bearing on each other.

## ACT II.—THE DEED

*Topic.*—Fitness of Time and Place.

*Hints.*—From Banquo's remarks to Fleance at the opening of this act, do you get the impression that he already suspects that Macbeth will use violent means to bring about the fulfillment of the witches' prophecy? Is he more afraid of what he may be tempted to do himself to help on the prophecy in his own behalf, or is he already fearful lest he and his son might also become the victims of Macbeth's ambition? Are his remarks to Macbeth about the king perfectly ingenuous or is he trying Macbeth in order to discover if possible his intentions toward the king? Are Macbeth's replies made only with the intention of putting Banquo off the scent, or does he also intend to throw out a bribe to Banquo and insure his silence upon whatever may happen, when he promises 'honor' to Banquo if he shall 'cleave' to his 'consent'?

Would the audience be fooled by Macbeth in this scene if it were not in the secret? How has it been put in the secret? Since it is in the secret as to the intentions of Macbeth, what purpose does this scene and the dagger speech serve, unless it be to reveal the characters of the actors by hints and previsions of what is going on within their minds? Does the fascination of this short scene depend largely upon the fact that it would be possible to interpret in more than one way the inner workings of these two men's minds? The dagger speech besides revealing Macbeth's mood tells the audience that the deed is about to be accomplished. What arrangements had Macbeth and Lady Macbeth made to insure its successful accomplishment as implied in the talk and action though not indicated directly?

In the scene (ii.) following the murder do you get the impression that it is physical revulsion rather than moral horror at his deed that unnerves Macbeth? Does Lady Macbeth's strength appear in this scene to be due entirely to her greater heartlessness, or to a determination to counteract the effects of her husband's weakness, and so save the day for him?

Does the scene with the porter serve the double purpose of relieving the tense strain upon the nerves of the audience, and of reminding them that the little petty events of life go on in their dull and even tenor while dark and terrible deeds are being accomplished? Or is it chiefly effective as a means for bringing home to the two guilty ones the fact that henceforth they will be outcast from that world which breaks in upon their crime so carelessly, yet so full of the latent power of retribution which will one day be their undoing? By the end of this act has the consummation of the deed produced any moral effects for better or worse upon either Macbeth or Lady Macbeth? Or do we find them simply following a blind human impulse to save themselves from detection? Which of them overacts the most and why?

While the moral action of the play may be said to be in poise (scene iii.) in Macbeth and Lady Macbeth with their ambition attained, the counter forces at once begin to make themselves apparent.

Point out what these forces are in scenes iii. and iv. If Malcolm and Donalbain had not fled, would the murder of Duncan have accomplished anything? Are there good and sufficient reasons why they should flee? Do they or any one else show suspicion of Macbeth? Is there anything to show that either Macbeth or Lady Macbeth had thought of the complications that might arise through Malcolm and Donalbain?—or that they had thought of the possibility that suspicion would point to them? In point of fact did not circumstances to which they had given no thought help them in the attainment of their end just as much as their own deed? Is this a weakness in the construction

of the plot, or is it supremely true to life? Is a criminal likely to take in all the aspects of the deed he commits?

### ACT III. — FATE CHALLENGED

*Topic.* — The 'Barren Sceptre.'

*Hints.* — The consequences of the deed done in Act II. begin to unfold significantly in Act III. The first consequence shown is the effect upon Macbeth's mind when established as king, of the witches' prophecy concerning Banquo's descendants.

His hostile intention toward Banquo and Fleance appears darkly, although significantly first in scene i., openly in scene ii., and the result of his ill will is tersely, indeed spectacularly presented in scene iii.; while the remaining scenes are again devoted to the consequences of this new deed. And these consequences are first shown in action, as before, on Macbeth's mind, scene iv., and then, scene v., in reflex influence on the trend of fate itself as represented by the witches, and finally in scene vi., upon his subjects, as represented by the talk of Lenox about the flight of Fleance, the similar flight of Malcolm and Donalbain, and finally in the talk about Macduff as of one through whose daring fresh evil or good are portended. These scenes foreshadow all that follows in fact or in anticipation throughout the action of Act IV. as regards Macbeth, and the witches, and Macduff's family; they also darkly suggest Macduff's possible revenge.

Is the reflex action of Macbeth's deed on fate itself, *i.e.* his proposition to call fate into the lists, to circumvent prophecy and control destiny in his own interest, the important event of Act III.; or is its most important event Banquo's murder? If the actual fact of the murder of Banquo and the attempt to kill Fleance has a less fundamental bearing on the progress of the action than the determination of Macbeth's mind against them, is it to be concluded that Shakespeare virtually makes Macbeth's soul the real stage of the action, and so in this play closely ap-



proaches the method characteristic of the so-called 'modern' psychological drama?

It might be argued that while Banquo's murder was not so important to the action here as Macbeth's attempt to circumvent fate by murdering him and Fleance, the escape of Fleance was the external fact of central importance. But it must be noticed that this fact is dramatically ineffective. Nothing comes of it, Fleance is not heard of again, he bears no witness against Macbeth and no vengeance comes through him. His escape is made a symbol instead of an instrument of Macbeth's failure to control fate by external means. And the main line of movement in the play is therefore the launching of Macbeth in this act into the full stream of the struggle between himself and the powers of fate which he has challenged.

Fate, on her side, in the person of Hecate, accepts the challenge in scene v., where she appears as the commander of the witches and as one who has the power to lead their external jugglery with Macbeth into supernatural and prophetic realms of influence.

#### ACT IV. — FATE DECEIVES

*Topic.* — Taking a Bond of Fate.

*Hints.* — The act opens with the witch scene that has already been prepared for in the third act by Hecate. The appearance of the witches here may be compared with that in the first act as being far more gruesome and suggestive of evil. Then, they appeared simply as the announcers of fate; now, they are joined by Hecate, who not only knows the course of fate, but is also an active force for evil and takes delight in misleading Macbeth with dissembling visions, scaring him with baneful prophecies, and leading him on in his path of evil. •

Was not Macbeth on his first meeting with the witches a free agent, still able in spite of his ambitious aims to choose the right course? Now he has by his own actions sold himself to evil, and evil in the semblance of Hecate can lead him whither she will

for his own utter undoing. Are the witches just as actively on the side of evil as Hecate, but without her controlling power?

At the beginning of this act, then, we see the result of Macbeth's helping on his fate by evil means, namely, his fate has become one with evil; and just as when fate was favorable to him, he worked to bring about its prophecies, now that it prophesies things unfavorable, he determines to defy it. Does the scene of the witches brewing the broth in the caldron serve as a vivid symbol of the gathering powers of evil which will finally be the undoing of Macbeth?

How are Macbeth's actions influenced by his last meeting with the witches? Does it show lack of wisdom on his part so openly to avow his intention of putting Macduff's wife and children to the sword, or does he imagine he will be considered justified because of Macduff's defection, or is he determined to cow every one into subjection by openly showing his hand as a tyrant, or is he simply rendered reckless by the double dealing of fate which assures him at the same time of personal security and yet warns him of Macduff?

Does the scene in which Macduff's wife and children are murdered have any bearing upon the development of the dramatic motive? Observe that in it Macbeth's cruelty is presented in its most intensive form. Compare the three murder scenes, showing how the first is done out of sight of the audience, while the feelings of Macbeth before and after are shown very intimately to the audience. In the second one the murder is shown directly, but the victims come upon the scene only momentarily and then disappear, while the feelings of Macbeth, though indicated, are not shown so intimately. In the third, the cruelty of the murder is emphasized through the audience being put in sympathy with the victims by a pathetic domestic scene, while the murderers appear simply as slaughterers. Of Macbeth's feelings we see nothing; that is, Macbeth has been moved entirely without the range of the sympathy of the audience, and the victims have been brought within its range. The cruelty of the murder is still more empha-

sized by the fact that the victims are not in any way dangerous to Macbeth.

How can Macduff's leaving his wife and children unprotected be explained? Is it demanded simply by the exigencies of the plot, or are there good and sufficient actual reasons why it was necessary for him to take this step?

In scene iii., the forces of retribution begin to gather strength. Is anything gained by the doubts cast upon Macduff both by his wife and Malcolm? Do they simply emphasize the extent of Macbeth's cruelty and machinations: first, by showing that Macduff's only possible hope was in fleeing to England for help, not only for Scotland, but for the protection of his home, which he could no longer defend single handed; second, by showing what plots Macbeth had laid in order to get Malcolm into his power?

Does the entrance of the doctor in this scene, and his talk about the cures effected by the pious Edward, serve any purpose whatever in the plot?

Taken as a whole, may this scene be said to represent the quiet gathering of the forces that are to overwhelm Macbeth, its slow movement like the sullen pause which precedes the outbreak of a storm, while, to carry the simile farther, the news of the murder of Macduff's wife and children is the lightning flash that lets loose the storm in all its fury.

## ACT V. — FATE CONQUERS

*Topic.* — The 'Bloody Head.'

*Hints.* — Act V. brings home to Macbeth and his 'partner of greatness' the triumph of the fate they themselves have given its power over them. This triumph is portrayed as asserting itself first over Lady Macbeth, secretly, through its effect upon her mind.

Scene i. shows how she has miscalculated her own strength to act ruthlessly. She is revealed in the sleep-walking scene as one of that class of believers in evil whose error is most of all against human nature. The heart and head she thought could be bent



upon any design by her own will, rebel through their own soundness and delicacy. Is it likely, judging by this scene alone, that her final death by suicide is the end Shakespeare meant for her as the most characteristic and artistic consummation of her part?

Is the announcement of her death 'by self and violent hands' in the last scene of the play foreshadowed in this? What line of this scene gives the hint?

Does the drama show that her heart and her head have been equally distressed in secret by the violence she has done her capacity for goodness? That is, does she reach the condition in which this scene unveils her, through her head, — by seeing, finally, how endless are the consequences of a violent deed, entailing ever new risks and chances of ruin for the sake of security in power? Or do you think that she has reached remorse through her squeamish heart which has not been able to share in blood without an irresistible shrinking and physical horror that has swallowed up her command of her own consciousness?

What light do the speeches which Shakespeare gives the 'Gentlewoman' in her talk with the Doctor in this scene throw upon Lady Macbeth's character? Are they meant to reflect the view of normal womanhood? And is Lady Macbeth meant to appear by contrast with such a type, or as essentially of the same type?

Is the anguish and death of Lady Macbeth necessary to the plot externally, either through its influence upon Macbeth or upon his subjects, by acquainting them with the foul play and so rousing rebellion? Or is it necessary to the plot, internally, — as an element contributing to the consummation of destiny and retribution?

Scene ii. shows the powers of fate about to center externally upon Macbeth and force a hard-fought retribution by actual deeds. Does scene iii. show that Macbeth is in any respect privately open, as Lady Macbeth was open, through a misgiving heart, to the impending triumph of fate over him? Is any such feeling of insecurity positive enough — external enough — to conquer his soul? His obduracy may be a sign of his obtuseness or of his superstitious faith in the oracle. Which is it?

What effect is produced by the representation of Macbeth in scene iii. as being irritated by the Doctor's answer to his question if medicine can help a 'mind diseased'? Why is he so sensitive to the force of the Doctor's reply — that to such sorrows the patient must minister to himself? Does it suggest that Macbeth is cut by a haunting suspicion he wishes not to entertain — that his deliverance from his heart sickness cannot be won by external aid?

Does Macbeth's talk with the messenger as to the English force reveal his grosser fears, his talk with the Doctor about Lady Macbeth, his finer ones?

Scene iv. brings one stage nearer the outward instruments fate is using, — Malcolm, Macduff, and the English army. How does it identify the advance of the army with the prophecy?

Scene v. is made to show through its exposition of Macbeth's alternately benumbed and desperate moods, both the imminence of his defeat and the stings of his own forebodings of the evil due him. Does he show his weakness most by his apathy or by his violence?

The last shreds of the mask Fate has worn in order to lure him on are cast aside in scenes vi. and vii. What is the bearing of the lines — 'Why should I play the Roman fool and die on mine own sword?' Did he, virtually, in an inner sense, die finally as a result of his own sword's thrust against another? In murdering Duncan, did he as good as kill himself, if he only knew it? Would suicide have shown that his conscience had power over him to accuse him of killing another in order to gain an advantage for himself? Did Lady Macbeth's show that hers had such power?

Is either his suicide, or else Macduff's success in killing him, dramatically called for by the construction of the play? Which best suits it, and why?

Is the bringing in upon the stage of Macbeth's 'bloody head' necessary to the close of the play, because it fulfills the oracle, or because it is a fitting end of Macbeth's story, and a perfect sequel in its likeness and contrast with the end of his 'partner of greatness'?

## PART II. THE CHARACTERS AND THEIR RELATIONS

IN 'Macbeth' it is peculiarly true that the different characters who play their parts in the plot cannot be taken away from their relationship to the central character of Macbeth himself. They can neither be separately treated nor considered primarily in groups by themselves, and secondarily in relation with Macbeth.

Gloster and his sons, in 'Lear,' for example, can be separately treated both as separate characters and as a group of characters having primary relations with one another, and a secondary relation with King Lear and his misfortunes. Can a similar group be found in 'Macbeth'?

Macduff and Malcolm, in the latter part of the play, may be considered separately in their relations to each other; but is not their separate grouping that of characters not primarily but secondarily related to each other, and first of all to Macbeth?

Lady Macbeth is so vital and influential a personage that she tempts the reader or hearer of the play to conceive of her outside the plot, and in other conjecturable relationships; but aside from the fact that it is Shakespeare's touch which creates the temptation, is that touch anywhere responsible for a portrayal of her that is independent of her relation to Macbeth and his tragic acts?

In the portrayal of Banquo, too, it may be asked if Shakespeare has anywhere lavished superfluous power on him so as to make him stand out in higher relief as an individual character than was requisite for his relation to Macbeth, and to the successive stages of that hero's tragic progress toward disaster.

How is it with Duncan?

The minor parts in any play are more detachable from the central plot than the main parts, precisely because of their unimpor-



tance. But, in another way, through those more external and passive relations to the central action which cut them off from it in a measure, they are of use to the main figures of the plot in giving them background and lifelikeness. And compared with this function all else about them is unimportant. The Doctor's and the Gentlewoman's parts are examples of this. Although important in this way, and not to be neglected in that relation, they are otherwise unimportant. The peculiar importance of the relation of Hecate and the Witches to Macbeth, whether to cause the action or merely luridly to light it up and influence its trend, is debatable ground, and their value in this play should have the separate consideration given it in the following section of this study.

In the remaining minor parts,—those of the Sergeant, the King's Sons, the Porter, the Old Man, the Murderers, Ross, Lennox and 'Another Lord,' Lady Macduff and her Son, the two Siwards,—are any of them painted in higher relief than is needful to relate them to the main action, and to provide the right background and color to tone in with or bring out the major part?

**Macbeth.**—Show how the characters presented before Macbeth's first appearance on the stage serve to portend him; how the Witches cloud him beforehand with the promise of something sinister in him; how the Sergeant and Ross wreath him with glory; how Duncan and Malcolm reveal themselves only so much as serves to usher in Macbeth and tell his story.

The Sergeant alone in this scene strikes out with some personal vividness. Why? His speech affords a glimpse of the battle fury, the over-excitement of loyal enthusiasm. His wild and whirling words, vehement almost to bombast and disjointed with suppressed suffering, recount Macbeth's soldiership; but it is as if with the selfsame light he is made to throw on Macbeth we see him, also, the torchbearer. It is for an instant, only. Then his 'gashes cry for help,' and his dramatic purpose accomplished, he passes into darkness.

Scene ii. presents Macbeth as he appears to the world, scene

iii. as he really is in his nature. What are you led to see that is, and how is the promise of the sinister in his nature given by the Witches reconciled with the nobility and valor of which scene ii. assured us?

Why does he enter saying, 'So foul and fair a day I have not seen.' Does he mean merely that the weather is fitful or that it is actually the worst of days as to weather, yet is, in result to him, the best of days, because of the great personal success he has achieved upon it? Is it likelier that Shakespeare would introduce his tragic hero with a commonplace, or with a word significant of the sense of power and restless ambition with which the flush of his success in war had filled him? What reasons can be given, however, to show that it is a saying referring to a matter of fact, echoing effectively the witches' words in the opening scene, and not a subjective saying reflecting Macbeth's mood?

Upon the entrance of the witches, Macbeth's words and his silences during which Banquo takes the initiative are suggestively commingled. Judging from both of these, from the expressions and the implications, how do you think Macbeth takes the witches? Is it at once clear, or is it here purposely left doubtful whether their prophecy meets his ambition half way, and whether the murder of the king is in his mind? Do you consider that he dismisses the idea of murder when he proposes to leave his kingship to chance? Or that it is precisely this temporizing with the idea which serves not to clear it from his mind, but to fasten it upon him?

It may be questioned whether it is the part of virtue to leave the future of a bad design loose to fate and fitting opportunity, or to will at once with all one's might against it. Does Shakespeare leave us in no doubt as to Macbeth's lack of inner virtue to resist temptation at the close of this scene, yet in doubt enough as to just what course externally his now unmasked desires may take? What light do his closing words to Banquo and his bearing and speeches throughout the rest of this act throw on this question?

Chance, it seems, begins at once, instead of crowning him with-

out his stir, by throwing serious obstacles in his way, through the king's making his son Prince of Cumberland. But, instead of submitting to chance readily, he now shows his disposition to bestir himself against chance.

At this stage of willing that to be which his eye fears yet is ready to wink at, Lady Macbeth is introduced. She interprets him and shows his duller wits and weaker will a way to grapple with chance by means of chance. He has recognized the obstacle chance has just thrown in his way. She recognizes an opportunity to offset the obstacle in the visit of the king to Inverness. But the question is, does she interpret the Thane aright? Does Shakespeare mean to show, in your opinion, that the latter's wife knows him better than he knows himself, or that her estimate is like a wife's, mistaken?

In the last scene of the act how is Macbeth's backing out of the projected deed to be construed with relation to his character? Is it a genuine struggle of the will toward virtue, although at the eleventh hour? Or is it a failure of the will to proceed without procrastination in a steep and risky undertaking?

Is fear of others, never of himself, the key to Macbeth's character, and the cause of his downfall? Does Lady Macbeth read his remorse aright when she calls his 'flaws and starts' the 'imposters to true fear'? The element of fear in Macbeth's portraiture comes often to the front, as Professor Pattee points out in a brief article, 'Fear in Macbeth' (see *Poet-love*, January, 1898, p. 92), and Lady Macbeth noticeably fastens on this tendency to fear in order to influence him. Later she learned how dangerous a goad it was to use.

Is the physical valor of such a soldier and leader as Macbeth has been shown to be consistent with moral cowardice? If Shakespeare has thus quailingly presented 'Bellona's bridegroom,' is it a mistake or not? It suggests the questions, Is Macbeth's courage constitutional or acquired? Is the early description of his natural valor (I. ii. 16-23) gainsaid by I. vii. 39-41, 79 and 80, IV. i. 85, v. 5. 9-13?

Scenes ii. and iii. of Act II. resemble scenes ii. and iii. of Act I. in presenting different aspects of Macbeth's character, one from the inside point of view, as it were, the other from the outside. The effect upon Macbeth himself alone of the murder he has done comes out in his talk about it with his other self — Lady Macbeth ; the other shows the effect of his deed upon his character in the light of publicity. In this third scene where he has to face public opinion and possible suspicion, what sign of the shrinking of the preceding scene does he show? Before Macduff and Lennox an instant's faltering would have risked the reward for which he did the murder. Does he permit himself any outlet? Are there any sincere utterances from him in this scene? Why did he kill the two chamberlains? Is this a mistake in policy?

In his remaining actions throughout the play should you conclude that there was any sign of new traits hitherto hidden in his character, or is all henceforth but the accumulating effect upon his character of his master motive, the safe indulgence of his egotistic ambition?

How does his childlessness affect his action? '*Macd.* He has no children' (IV. iii. 215). Is Macduff thinking of Malcolm or of Macbeth?

In the scene with the physician does he reveal merely the natural weariness of his perpetual fight for security, or does he here at last betray a wholesome suspicion that the root of such difficulties is not external but internal? It is significant that his queries about the cure of a mind diseased refer to others — to Lady Macbeth and Scotland, not to himself. The situation suggests Shakespeare's moral — that the root of their disease is his disease, and his, like theirs, craves an internal cure. Does he apply to himself the principle he seems so near to applying to others, for an instant, and then abandon it ; or is it due to the dramatic perfection of the moral implication here, that he is made to unveil to us the saving truth which is blank to him?

This is, perhaps, the last gleam of inward strength. What signs remain that show a stubbornly increasing insensibility? Does his



physical bravery ever falter, or does that increase as moral sensitiveness decreases? How do the witches influence this, and what further light on Macbeth's philosophy of life does his preference to depend on them show?

How do you think Macbeth looked?

What do you gather were his powers of mind? In particular, how does the imaginative faculty he shows, often in such strong contrast to Lady Macbeth's literalness, blend with his practical ability as a great general?

Is his image-making speech really due to Shakespeare, and not in keeping with the character, yet suitably employed in the play because effective in dramatically exhibiting the situations? Discuss this, *pro* and *con*.

**Banquo.** — It is evident upon the first appearance of Banquo with Macbeth that there is a contrast between the two successful captains. Banquo's manner of regarding the witches differs from Macbeth's and makes it more noticeable. What are the differences? How are they shown, and what do they lead you to infer as to Banquo's character?

At the first mention of Banquo, before his appearance on the stage, what importance on his part, separably from Macbeth, is promised, and how much then appears that is characteristic of him?

In the scene with the king, after the witch scene, the relation between the king and Banquo is more loving and personal than that between the king and Macbeth. How do you account for this? Are there any signs that he was envious of Macbeth's high rewards in which he had no share, although he shared in the same work? Did Banquo show himself superior to reward?

What indications of uneasiness as to Macbeth's character or designs does he betray? Was he subservient to Macbeth? Was his dialogue with him before the murder adapted to arouse or lull his suspicions? In his action on the fatal night was he stupid or charitable, weak or discreet, or shrewdly politic? How much does he suspect the next morning?

Could he have really done anything before or then to affect a different outcome of events? Since it would have spoiled the tragedy if he had, it is to be assumed that he did not for good and sufficient reasons arising from his character or from the situation, or both; otherwise it must be concluded either that Shakespeare simply followed the Holinshed story without putting human nature into it at this point, or else that he is artificial here, compelled by his dramatic scheme instead of powerful to make it both right in art and true to nature. This question as to Banquo is therefore a 'necessary question' of the play. Does his character in relation with the facts of the situation have its due share in the tragic result?

What do you conceive his character to have been? Is it wisely left open by Shakespeare as to what it certainly was, while yet it is clear that his forbearance to intervene was characteristic of him, and was a factor in the plot? Or does Shakespeare show that the witches' prophecy in favor of his sons was potent in making him connive, by silence, in Macbeth's success?

What does his manner of receiving the news that next morning signify? Does his proposition to hold a council supply a clue? Is it probable that he was overborne against his will in the council as to Macbeth's accession to the throne as the cousin of the late king; or is it likelier, judging from the talk in Act III. sc. i., that Macbeth was crowned with at least the tacit approval of Banquo? Why did Banquo go to the coronation while Macduff did not? Compare the suspicions and the actions of Macduff and Banquo after the murder. Was Banquo an observing man?

Is it likely that the grievance the murderers have against Banquo was really due to him, or was it foisted on him by Macbeth? What is Macbeth's real opinion of Banquo? What bearing on his character and part in the play have Banquo's last words?

**Lady Macbeth.** — The first folio gives the stage direction upon Lady Macbeth's first entrance, thus: 'Macbeth's Wife alone with

a letter.' This initial appearance seems to strike the keynote of the relation she bears to her husband and to the drama.

The first mention of her is just prior to her appearance, and it is her husband who mentions her, his first thought after the king's speech in the preceding scene being to join her. This letter must have been sent to her before he met the king. Its first words, 'They,' etc., referring to a preceding mention of the witches, show that the passage read aloud is but a part, evidently the closing part, of a longer story. But it need not be supposed, on this account, that a part of the play has been lost. Obviously, the news of the battle and the witches' greeting, already known to the audience and therefore not repeated, has gone before, and what is given is all that is needed to advance the plot. This much is new matter, not in the facts related, but in the attitude of the Macbeths toward them.

This way of reporting the facts shows how much they mean jointly to this husband and wife. It is evident from the letter that the two are a unit, not merely in love and general sympathy, but that Macbeth's wife is of such a nature and bears such a relation to him that she is in his confidence in hidden aims and practical affairs in a way, for example, that Hotspur's wife is not. (See 'I Henry IV.,' II. iii. 106-115.)

Is it implied, too, that the Thane and his wife have indulged together in ambitious desires? Although any particular plan for superseding Duncan cannot now be inferred, is there not a blind suggestion in the excitement both show, Macbeth in his letter, and his wife in reading his letter, of a guilty project which, when Lady Macbeth speaks of such a project more distinctly, later on (I. vii. 44-49), makes the mind recur then to this dimmer hint of the same thing.

The effect of the letter on Lady Macbeth is certainly instant and peculiar. No explicit description of the action, which it is the office of the dramatist to set forth in his first act, could produce a more positive effect than is shadowed forth here indirectly, through the medium of Lady Macbeth's character. Show how

this impression of what the action of the play is to be comes out in her monologue, and afterward in her treatment of the messenger.

What do you gather of the lady herself, meanwhile, as to the sensitiveness of her perceptions, the quickness of her mind?

What does her estimate of her husband amount to in throwing light upon herself as well as on him? What does she mean by saying that he is full of the 'milk of human kindness'? It is commonly taken to be complimentary to him, but it may be doubtful whether she thought it so; and that not because she was evil-minded, but because she was keen-minded. Is it possible that it is a half contemptuous description of him, as not developed above the general run of men in mating his intentions with performance? She prides herself on understanding clearly and without confusion the practical necessities of success, as the easy-going, general run of human beings do not. So, to her, in this respect of not knowing himself, he is something of a milksop. Compare the usual meaning of 'kind' and 'kindness' in Shakespeare, which is often equivalent to the common nature and the common weakness, and not always, as now, to gentleness or any considerateness of others.

Notice the adjuration to herself afterward that her 'milk be gall,' and no 'compunctious visitings of nature' shake her purpose. But is she lacking in the fiber to meet facts? Has she the grit to disregard general opinion and form her own ideas and purposes independently, while at the same time she is aware that she has to guard against a feminine shrinking from blood and wounds? She is feminine in the sense of having a delicate nature and instincts against physical force and cruelty, while her husband, in comparison, is masculine, having no repugnance of that particular kind. See his slaughter of Macdonwald and the chamberlains.

Does she put as much faith in the witches as Macbeth does? Does she doubt them or only not depend upon them? Notice how she speaks of 'metaphysical aid' (*i.e.* supernatural) as *seeming* to crown him. Also, how she does not for an instant propose



to rely upon it, but to take sufficient practical steps toward it herself through her own will power. Later in the play, does she share at all in her husband's trust in the witches? Why not?

Was Banquo more pious than either Macbeth or his wife, and therefore less open to the witch-influence? Were the other two, as far as they might be in that day, liberals in thought, and would this affect their attitude toward the witches? Does the difference between the husband and the wife in their susceptibility to the witch-influence throw any light on the difference in their minds and characters?

Judging from Lady Macbeth's relations with her husband throughout the play, do the facts authorize the assumption that Macbeth was a good man led astray by his wife, or that he was an evil-minded man, craving the encouragement and plausible policy to launch him in his aims which his wife's character was well fitted to supply? On the latter supposition, it is evident that she did not long reënforce him in this way. When did she stop, and why?

Notice how her encouragement of him arose. When did Macbeth 'break this enterprise' to her? Does she refer in these words (I. vii. 47) to the letter, or to some personal talk before? Compare her relations with him before and after the murder in respect to her lesser or greater influence upon him and her foreknowledge of his plans. Why does she ask, 'What do you mean'? (II. ii. 40, 44.) Do you ever suspect that her literalness is meant to rouse her husband out of his fancies by her appeal to fact, or is she merely less imaginative and more matter-of-fact than he is? If she includes herself in her 'us' in II. ii., this is eloquent of her own quailing heart presaging her future woe. Is it a natural or a desperate act of bravery for her to take the daggers back herself to the bedchamber where the corpse lay?

Observe how much more she talks before her swoon than afterward. Do you think this due to the necessities of the plot, or is it intended to indicate a change wrought in her?

If Lady Macbeth's mind was merely hard, glib, and superficial,

or commonplace and practical only, would she have lost the reins over Macbeth so steadily as she does throughout the rest of the play? Would she not, instead, have grown in evil along with him?

What signs are there that she is aware of a widening breach between herself and her husband? Does she disapprove of his course in any way on the morning after the murder?

Notice what share she has in each of Macbeth's further actions. Ask whether she fears the murder of Banquo or connives in it (III. ii. 1, 35, 38, 44). Does she first suggest the murder of Fleance and Banquo? With what meaning does she say 'But in them nature's copy's not eterne'? Is her conduct at the banquet tactful or perfunctory, betraying her own hopelessness? Had she no share in the Macduff horror?

In the sleep-walking scene two actions are prominent, — the letter-writing and the washing of her hands. Why, do you suppose, did Shakespeare single out these two? How far are her sleep-walking words and actions repetitions of her earlier ones? How many are new, and what do these bring out?

The Physician pities her. Why? What does he fear when he cautions the Gentlewoman (V. i. 83-85)?

Are the different effects Shakespeare arouses of pity for Lady Macbeth in her end, and horror of Macbeth in his, morally justifiable if they were equally to blame? How do their different ends affect this question?

Is it likely that Shakespeare would not have made Lady Macbeth kill herself, and that this is an interpolation of another hand? Or is this undeniably his touch, great enough for him, suitable to her character, and fit companion with the climax that came, after a similar significant silence, to another tragic queen — the Jokasta of Sophokles? (See 'Œdipus Tyrannus.')

### PART III. THE SUPERNATURAL IN 'MACBETH,' AND ITS RELATION TO THE PLOT

THE *three* witches at once suggest to the mind the Three Fates or *Parcæ* of classical mythology — Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, who presided over life : Clotho spins the thread of life ; Lachesis determines its length ; and Atropos cuts it off. According to Hesiod, Night produced the 'ruthlessly punishing Fates . . . who assign to men at their births to have good and evil ; who also pursue transgressions both of men and gods, nor do the goddesses ever cease from dread wrath, before that, I wot, they have repaid sore vengeance to him, whoever shall have sinned.' In the Homeric Hymn to Hermes we find a description of them as follows (Chapman's translation) : —

'There dwell  
Within a crooked cranny, in a dell  
Beneath Parnassus, certain sisters born,  
Called *Parcæ*, whom extreme swift wings adorn;  
Their number three, that have upon their heads  
White barley-flour still sprinkled, and are maids;  
And these are schoolmistresses of things to come,  
Without the gift of prophecy. Of whom  
(Being but a boy, and keeping oxen near)  
I learned their skill, though my great Father were  
Careless of it, or them. These flying from home  
To others' roofs, and fed with honeycomb,  
Command all skill, and (being enraged then)  
Will freely tell the truths of things to men.  
But if they give them not that God's sweet meat,  
They then are apt to utter their deceit,  
And lead men from their way.'

Compare this classical notion of the Fates with the witches as they appear in 'Macbeth'; also with the Scandinavian idea of

the Fates as represented in the Norse Norns. Spaulding, in his 'Elizabethan Demonology,' is of the opinion that the witches of 'Macbeth' are not witches at all, but are intimately allied to the Norns or Fates of Scandinavian mythology. Another writer, in the *Academy* (Feb. 8, 1879), thinks that they are hybrids between Norns and witches. The proofs adduced are as follows: each witch exercises the especial function of a Norn; the first takes cognizance of the past, the second of the present, while the third prophesies. Such are the functions of the three Norns — Urda, Verdandi, and Skulda. It is also claimed that Banquo's description of the three witches (I. iii. 39) better fits Norns than witches.

On the other hand, contemporary descriptions of witches may be cited to prove that Shakespeare meant them to be witches. For instance, Scot, in his 'Discoverie of Witchcraft' (see Part VII. of this volume), says witches are 'women which commonly be old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles; they are leane and deformed, showing melancholie in their faces'; while another writer describes a witch as 'an old, weather-beaten crone, having her chin and knees meeting for age, walking like a bow, leaning on a staff, hollow-eyed, untoothed, furrowed, having her limbs trembling with palsy, going mumbling in the streets; one that hath forgotten her paternoster, yet hath a shrewd tongue to call a drab a drab.' (See Dyer's 'Folk-lore of Shakespeare'.)

What other facts in the characterization of the witches may be used as proof that Shakespeare had in mind witches rather than Norns? The names Graymalkin, Paddock, and probably Harpier also are suggestive of witches, the first standing for cat, the second for toad, and the third for dog, all of which animals were familiars of witches. Steevens (quoted in Furness Variorum) tells of a representation of St. James painted by Hell Brengel in 1566, which 'exhibits witches flying up and down the chimney on brooms, and before the fire sits grimalkin and paddock, *i.e.* a cat and a toad, with several baboons. There is a cauldron boiling, with a witch near it cutting out the tongue of a snake as an ingredient for the charm.' Scot ('Discoverie of Witchcraft') remarks that



'some say that witches can keepe devils and spirits in the likeness of todes and cats.' Dyer also points out that in 'German legends and traditions we find frequent notice of witches assuming the form of a cat, and displaying their fiendish character in certain diabolical acts.' But though they had the power of changing themselves into animals, they were hampered by the fact that the animals into which they metamorphosed themselves were without tails, so that they were liable to be discovered. The First Witch evidently has in mind such a metamorphosis (I. iii. 9) when she declares, 'And like a rat without a tail, I'll do, I'll do, I'll do.'

Witches were also thought to have the power of creating storms, as the following account, given in Dyer's 'Folk-lore of Shakespeare,' illustrates: 'Agnes Sampson, a reputed witch, vowed that at the time his Majesty (James VI.) was in Denmark she took a cat and christened it, and afterwards bound to that cat the chiefest parts of a dead man, and several joints of his body; and that in the night following the said cat was conveyed into the midst of the sea by herself and other witches, sailing in their riddles or crieves, and so left the said cat right before the town of Leith in Scotland. This done, there arose such a tempest in the sea, as a greater hath not been seen, which tempest was the cause of the perishing of a boat or vessel coming from the town of Brunt Island to the town of Leith, wherein were sundry jewels and rich gifts, which should have been presented to the new Queen of Scotland at his Majesty's coming to Leith. Again, it is confessed that the said christened cat was the cause of the King's majesty's ship, at his coming forth of Denmark, having a contrary wind to the rest of the ships then being in his company, which thing was most strange and true, as the King's majesty acknowledged.'

Observe that Shakespeare's witches meet in thunder and lightning, and seem generally to have the power of controlling tempests and winds.

The occupation of killing swine (I. iii. 2), indulged in by the Second Witch, is also characteristic of her kind. Steevens (quoted in the *Furness Variorum*) refers to an account called 'A Detec-

tion of Damnable Driftes Practized by Three Witches, etc., 1579,' which tells of a witch that 'came on a tyme to the house of one Robert Lathburie, etc., . . . who, dislyking her dealyng, *sent her home emptie*; but presently after her departure *his hogges fell sicke and died* to the number of twentie.' (See also Dyer's 'Folk-lore of Shakespeare.')

Still other well-known witch characteristics may be noted. For example, Dyer points out that the sieve, as a symbol of the clouds, has been regarded amongst all nations of the Aryan stock as the mythical vehicle used by witches, nightmares, and other elfish beings in their excursions over land and sea. He also calls attention to an extract from the 'Life of Doctor Fian,' quoted by Steevens, which tells of a notable sorcerer, burnt at Edinburgh, January, 1591; how that he and a number of witches went to sea, each one in a *riddle* or *cive*. Thus the First Witch (I. iii. 8) declares 'but in a sieve I'll thither sail.' Witches were also in the habit of dancing, of vanishing into the air, of brewing ointments from various horrible ingredients, to be used as charms. A favorite practice with them was to make a wax figure of any one they wished to harm, and this they would stick through with pins, or melt before a slow fire. As the figure wasted so also would the person it represented waste away. They could tell the future by the way in which corn grows, and the numbers they used to conjure with were frequently multiples of three and nine, though odd numbers in general are acceptable to witches. (See Dyer.) Do the witches in 'Macbeth' illustrate all these points in witch characteristics? (Further studies upon the folk-lore of the witches may be made from Scot's 'Discoverie of Witchcraft,' Henderson's 'Folk-lore of the Northern Countries,' Conway's 'Demonology and Devil-lore,' Sir Walter Scott's 'Demonology and Witchcraft,' Douce, 'Illustrations of Shakespeare,' Rolfe's Notes.)

From all this it will appear that Shakespeare certainly drew upon the folk-lore of the time in his characterization of the witches.

Is there not, however, an element in their natures left unex-

plained, if we regard them simply as Scotch witches? With the spread of Christianity in the Middle Ages, the degeneration of classical gods and goddesses into fairies and evil spirits was general; while to the degenerated mythical being were attached all sorts of current superstitions. May not Shakespeare's witches in 'Macbeth' be examples of degenerated Fates, to whom have been added the current witch superstitions, themselves, many of them, survivals from ancient witch superstitions? Which seems the more probable, that Shakespeare consciously combined the characteristics of the Fates and witches, or that he found them combined in the current folk-lore of the day?

How much was he dependent upon the hints in Holinshed's account of Macbeth's encounter with the witches? (See Second Section of this volume, 'Shakespeare's Literary Material.')

The part of Hecate in the play has been objected to by some critics on the score of its mixing up classical mythology with witch superstitions current at the time. Hecate's speeches have also been considered so inferior, poetically, as to lead to the supposition that her part is not by Shakespeare at all. (See Rolfe's 'Macbeth,' p. 222, note on sc. v. p. 227, note on sc. ii.)

As to the first point: various editors have shown that the connecting of Hecate or Diana, or some other classical goddess, with witches was customary at the time; for example, Tollet calls attention to the fact that Scot, in his 'Discoveries of Witchcraft,' mentions it as the common opinion of all writers that witches were supposed to have nightly 'meetings with Herodias and the Pagan gods,' and 'that in the night-times they ride abroad with *Diana*, the goddess of the Pagans.' Their dame, or chief leader, seems always to have been an old Pagan, as 'The Ladie Sibilla, Minerva or *Diana*.' Todd reminds us that in Jonson's 'Sad Shepherd,' II. iii., Maudlin, the witch, calls Hecate the *mistress of witches*.

It is not, however, necessary to depend upon contemporary opinion to uphold Shakespeare for introducing Hecate as mistress of the witches, for the classical Hecate was regarded, especially,

as the mistress of sorcery and witchcraft. Her characteristics are well summarized as follows in Harper's 'Dictionary of Mythology.'

'Unknown to Homer, but in Hesiod she was the only daughter of the Titan Perses and of Asteria (see Bohn's Hesiod "Theogony," 407-451). She stood high in the regard of Zeus, from whom she had received a share in the heaven, earth, and ocean. She was invoked at all sacrifices, for she could give or withhold her blessing in daily life, in war, in contests on the sea, in the hunting-field, in the education of children, and in the tending of cattle. Thus, she appeared as the personification of divine power, and was the instrument through which the gods effected their will, though themselves far away. In later times she was confused with Persephone, the queen of the lower world, or associated with her. Sometimes she was regarded as the goddess of the moon or as Artemis. Being conceived of as a goddess of night or the lower world, she was, as time went on, transformed into a deity of ghosts and magic. She was represented as haunting crossways and graves, accompanied by the dogs of the Styx, with the spirits of the dead and troops of spectral forms in her train. She lent powerful aid to all magical incantations and witches' work. All enchanters and enchantresses were her disciples and protégés. Medea was, in particular, regarded as her votary.'

There are many examples in classical literature showing that the belief in witchcraft was widespread. (The student who cares to assure himself of this fact may look the matter up in 'Petronius,' 63; Apuleius, 'Metamorphoses,' Book I.; Tibullus, I. 5; Ovid, 'Fasti,' VI. 133, fol.; and Fest. 314; Horace, 'Epod.' V.)

Especially interesting in connection with Shakespeare's Hecate and witches is the story of Medea and Æson, told in Ovid, 'Metamorphoses,' Book VII. (The translation we give in Second Section of this volume, Part VII., is one made by Golding, and probably the one known to Shakespeare; for, setting 'Macbeth' aside, there are resemblances between passages in it and



the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' too remarkable to be accidental. Golding's translation is known to have appeared in seven editions between 1565 and 1587.)

The story of Canidia, in Horace, 'Satire VIII.' (see Second Section, Part VIII.), bears witness which should not be overlooked to the classic witch-lore open to Shakespeare, since the English translations of the 'Satires' by Evans, and another by Drant, were current books in the latter half of the sixteenth century, although apparently not so popular as Golding's 'Ovid.'

Does not all this prove that the editors who found fault with Shakespeare for mixing up ancient and modern superstitions simply showed their own ignorance, first in supposing that witchcraft was peculiar to the superstition of the day, and second, in supposing that there was anything odd in Hecate's being regarded as the mistress of the witches, since she was in classical times the presiding deity of witches?

As to the second point, the arguments for and against may be noted as follows: Dr. William J. Rolfe (see 'Some Shakespearian Questions' in *Poet-lore*, No. 4, 1899) says that scene v. of Act III. is spurious throughout. 'In the first place, the measure of Hecate's speeches is against the theory that the part is Shakespeare's. . . . Hecate speaks in iambics, while the eight-syllable lines that Shakespeare puts into the mouth of supernatural characters — witches, fairies, spirits, etc. — are regularly trochaic. In this scene the two lines of the First Witch are iambic, like those of the same personage in iv. 2, 125-132, which are also an obvious interpolation; but elsewhere she and her sisters speak only in trochaics, when not using the ordinary blank verse, as occasionally they do.' Against this may be set Mary E. Cardwill's argument (see 'Hecate in "Macbeth,"' *Poet-lore*, 1898, No. 4). 'The inferiority of Hecate's words, from a poetic standpoint, to those of the weird sisters is regarded as the surest proof of her spuriousness. Is it not rather an evidence of her genuineness as a creation of Shakespeare? With his subtle sense of discrimination he made her what she represented to the popular mind: a

creature approaching the reality of the human, — vulgar, prosaic, practical, yet in power akin to the divine. . . . Shakespeare well knew what the name of Hecate implied to the people even in his time of dawning enlightenment. He knew what words to put into her mouth to produce a realistic effect, without interfering with his own creative interpretation of her nature.'

Again, Dr. Rolfe thinks that 'every word that Hecate utters is absurdly out of keeping with the context. In III. v. she begins by chiding the witches for "trading and trafficking" with Macbeth without calling on her to bear her part. The reference to "trading and trafficking" appears to have been suggested by the common notion that the help of witches was to be secured by a bargain with them; and there seems to be a similar reference in IV. i. 40, where Hecate, commending the witches, says, "And every one shall share i' the gains." What can this possibly mean? What were the "gains" in the business? Macbeth has offered the witches no bribe, nor have they intimated that they expect any.

'Besides, as mistress of the witches, Hecate certainly has no reason to find fault with what they have done, or with the manner in which Macbeth has acted under their inspiration. She could not herself have managed the affair better. Wherein, so far as the witches are concerned, has Macbeth proved "a wayward son, spiteful and wrathful"? . . . Some editors who did not doubt the authorship of this scene have felt that "loves" was incongruous here and have suggested sundry emendations; as "*lives* for his own sake"; "loves *evil* for his own sake," etc. But these readings merely substitute one difficulty for another. Why should Macbeth be supposed to "live" or to "love evil" for the sake of the witches rather than his own?'

It might be replied to these queries that the witches have certainly been 'trading and trafficking' with Macbeth's moral nature; and though no actual bargain has been made, he, in responding to their suggestions, has opened negotiations with them at least, and Hecate is jealous that the witches — these mere announcers

of evil — should have succeeded so well with Macbeth without her superior power for temptation. They have been usurping her prerogatives, and for the benefit of a man, who, although he responds quickly enough to the evil impulses, is not going to give his allegiance to the evil powers. He is willing to use the devil's means, but he is not willing to admit that he is; and this is the reason Hecate says, 'He loves for his own ends.'

To quote the Cardwill argument again: 'Hecate's plain, blunt words bring us down to earth and to a judgment of Macbeth from the standpoint of human responsibility; and this, too, at the very moment when he appears to be yielding himself utterly to the supernatural powers. The seeming contradiction here is but another exhibition of the poet's understanding of human nature. The wilful man determined upon evil willingly believes himself impelled to it by forces beyond his control. Macbeth, with his mind made up in the half pretense, half serious act of seeking to know his destiny, finds the excuse he desires to warrant his future action.' (For further remarks see the articles in question.)

Another argument brought forward in proof that the part of Hecate's is not Shakespeare's, is in the fact that there is a Hecate in Middleton's 'Witch,' a play that is thought to have antedated 'Macbeth.' As the character is similar, it has been suggested that Middleton may have added the part of Hecate. Also, the songs referred to actually occur in Middleton's play (See Second Section, Part VIII., 'Literary Illustrations.')

On the other hand, it may be noted that the date of Middleton's play is by no means settled beyond question; that the songs used by him, and indicated in the stage directions of 'Macbeth' may have been popular songs; that Shakespeare may have himself borrowed the idea of Hecate and the songs from Middleton, or, indeed, the whole machinery of the witches. As the date of Middleton's play is not settled, there is no way of proving whether Shakespeare borrowed from Middleton or Middleton from Shakespeare. However, a comparison of Shakespeare's witches with Middleton's will at once prove the superiority of

the former. Can it be proved on comparison that Shakespeare's Hecate is also superior to Middleton's?

Summing up the arguments, it appears that those against the part of Hecate being Shakespeare's are of an external sort, depending upon assumptions as to form and style; while those for its being Shakespeare's attempt to prove that Hecate is an important element in the development of the fatalistic side of the drama. (See Hints on Act IV.)

In considering the supernatural element in this play, it should be remembered that witches were not in themselves supernatural beings, but human beings in collusion with evil spirits, whose aid they could always secure by magical practices. The origin of these magical practices seems to have been the belief among primitive savages that if you imitate any of the processes of nature, the actual processes will shortly follow. For example, the ceremony of rain making is widespread among savage races, and consists in some crude attempt to represent rain, which is believed to work toward the desired effect and bring rain. (For points on sympathetic magic, see Frazer's 'Golden Bough.')

The belief in signs and omens, so important an element in this play, also goes back to very ancient times and is not necessarily supernatural, but a supernatural interpretation of common events in nature. Has Shakespeare, in 'Macbeth,' made these omens truly supernatural because of their strange fitness to human events, or has he made the characters interpret common, natural events in a supernatural manner?

With regard to Macbeth himself: the vision he saw of the dagger and the ghost he saw of Banquo might have been purely subjective phenomena. (See Rolfe's Notes on these points.) Has Shakespeare made them seem equally subjective or does he seem to intend the ghost of Banquo to be a materialized spirit?

With regard to Lady Macbeth: her sleep-walking comes entirely within the range of the natural. Does she show as much of a belief in signs and omens as Macbeth does?

There is a deal of interesting folklore connected with the



apparitions the witches show to Macbeth. (For which see Rolfe's Notes, and this volume, Parts VII. and VIII.)

Shakespeare uses these folklore stories as material for the oracular utterances of the apparitions, which have a double significance and lead Macbeth on to his downfall through arousing his determination to defy and conquer fate.

In summing up, point out how many different sorts of supernaturalism there are in the play; which of these enter into the very warp and woof of the plot, which furnish elements of characterization and atmosphere, which carry the action forward, which are the result of the action; also, whether the play is one of destiny in the Greek sense, no human action being strong enough to turn it aside, or whether the triumph of destiny is entirely dependent upon Macbeth's weakness of character.

## PART IV. LANGUAGE STUDY

NOTE how the language of the witches is in keeping with their character, and explain how this is so on account of their allusions. Do they use many words, expressions, or grammatical constructions that need explanation? (See Rolfe's Notes.) Give explanation of any that require it, and note especially the words about which there may have been much editorial discussion. 'Aroint thee,' for example, is explained as 'Away with thee.' Is this explanation perfectly satisfactory, or is the reading of the Third and Fourth Folios, which Dr. Johnson preferred, better? (See Rolfe's Notes.) An examination of the origin and usages of this word will throw light on this subject, for which see the Furness Variorum 'Macbeth.' Another view of the meaning of the word may be found in *Poet-lore*, No. 3, 1901.

It is always claimed that the language of Hecate is very inferior to that of the witches; note what the differences are both as to style and meter, and give opinions as to whether it is fitting it should differ, and in the way it does. (See 'The Supernatural in "Macbeth"'; also Rolfe's Introduction, p. 12, and Notes; also Notes to Middleton's 'Witch' in Furness Variorum.) Even if Hecate's words were proved, not only inferior in style, but inadequate as a representation of her character, would it necessarily prove that they were not written by Shakespeare?

On the grounds of inferior language and slovenly meter, sc. ii. Act I. has been thought by some not to be Shakespeare's. He is supposed to have been incapable of writing the bombastic language of the Sergeant. (See Rolfe, p. 152.) Might it not be argued that by this means of language the poet has in a short scene succeeded in characterizing the Sergeant for us? He has shown him to be not only a Sergeant, but a man with a dis-

inct personality — a man of big words, who likes to roll round his tongue his important information, and who, even when wounded unto death, retains his habit of speech. The character, Flambeau, in Rostand's recent drama, 'L'Aiglon,' is similar. Though he has so short a part, he uses a number of words that have been productive of much talk, such as *kerns*, *gallow glasses*, *quarrel*, *nave*. (See Rolfe, and for further opinions the Furness Variorum.) Summing up the opinions upon two readings — *quarrel* or *quarry* — which do you think it likely Shakespeare really wrote, that which is more easy of interpretation, or that which is more difficult?

In line 21 an interesting point may be raised as to what is the antecedent of *which*. It has generally been taken for granted that *slave* is the antecedent. It was suggested in an editorial in *Poet-lore* (Vol. XIII. No. 2), that *his* in line 14 — 'Fortune on *his* damned quarry smiling,' and *which* in line 21 — '*Which* ne'er shook hands nor bade farewell to him,' both refer to fortune, *slave*, referring to Macdonwald, as 'Slave of Fortune,' which (*i.e.* fortune) stuck to him smilingly up to the last minute until Macbeth reached him and ripped him up. This interpretation of the passage has the advantage of making some sense out of the words just as they stand in the oldest text, that of the First Folio, 1623, but the question will remain whether it is better to solve the obscurity of the Sergeant's words thus, or to consider this line 21 corrupt as the Globe editors have marked it.

By what is the language of Duncan characterized? Is it as far removed as possible from that of the Sergeant externally yet revealing in both of them a certain transparency of nature? How do his speeches compare with the Sergeant's in the matter of grammar, allusions, and unusual words? (See Rolfe.) Does his language, on the whole, reflect intellect or a sort of natural wisdom? Give examples of his wise and epigrammatical sayings. Sir Joshua Reynolds makes this interesting observation upon the opening dialogue of scene vi. of Act I.: 'This short dialogue between Duncan and Banquo has always appeared to me as striking

instance of what in painting is called *repose*. Their conversation very naturally turns upon the beauty of the situation, and the pleasantness of the air; and Banquo, observing the martlet's nests in every recess of the cornice, remarks that where those birds most breed and haunt the air is delicate. The subject of this quiet and easy conversation gives that repose so necessary to the mind after the tumultuous bustle of the preceding scenes, and perfectly contrasts the scene of horror that immediately succeeds. It seems as if Shakespeare asked himself, what is a prince likely to say to his attendants on such an occasion? Whereas the modern writers seem, on the contrary, to be always searching for new thoughts, such as would never occur to men in the situation which is represented. This, also, is frequently the practice of Homer, who, from the midst of battles and horrors, relieves and refreshes the mind of the reader by introducing some quiet rural image or picture of familiar domestic life.' (Quoted in Furness Variorum.)

Compare this passage with the scene with the Porter (II. iii.), which has the same effect of relieving the tragic scene of the situation, though in a different way. Because of the coarseness of the Porter's remarks, this again has been supposed not to be Shakespeare's. (For the arguments for and against, see 'Moot Points,' in this volume, Part VI.)

Compare the language of Banquo with that of Macbeth, and note whether there is any essential difference in their way of expressing themselves.

Compare also the language of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth in sc. iii. Act I. Show how Macbeth's speech is the more imaginative, though Lady Macbeth's is not without imaginative touches. Does their language reflect accurately the temperaments of the two speakers, or simply the mood of each at that particular time? Note how their speech compares in other scenes. Is Macbeth's speech less poetical at times than it is at others, and Lady Macbeth's more uniform in its style? Is there any inherent difference in the nature of the figures and allusions used, or are the differences due entirely to the fact that having different parts to play



they must of necessity say different things. (For allusions and unusual expressions, see Rolfe's Notes.) Give all necessary explanations, and note especially any passages that have given rise to much editorial comment, distinguishing between comments that seem absurd and those justified by the obscurity of the meaning.

Study the language of the minor characters in the same way and sum up the results by showing: (1) which of the characters use the greatest number of allusions, from what sources they are drawn, and what relation they bear to the character; (2) which use the greatest number of poetic figures and of what nature they are; (3) which use the most direct and unvarnished speech; (4) in which are peculiarities of grammar and meter most prominent. (For remarks on rhyme tags, see Fleay's 'Shakespeare Manual,' Chap. X.) ; and (5) finally, whether all the characters are definitely distinguishable from their language alone, or whether some are more distinguishable than others, and why they are so.

Bodenstedt says the word 'bloody' (I. ii. 1) reappears on almost every page, and runs like a red thread through the whole piece; in no other of Shakespeare's dramas is it so frequent. The constant references to signs and omens in nature adds another element of horror to the drama, and gives the impression of nature's mood being in sympathy with the moods of men. Do these references come from all of the characters indiscriminately or only from special ones? May the language as a whole be said to reflect as much the age of Shakespeare as the age of Macbeth?

Compare the passages given from D'Avenant's version in this volume (Part VIII.) with the same passages in Shakespeare, and observe how the changes in the diction take away the force and character of the original.

Is this effect due to the flattening out of the metaphors, or to the smoothing away of the signs of spontaneous and abrupt emotion shown in confused and elliptical speech? Is it due to the regulation of realistic, although poetically rendered Elizabethan language, by modes of expression and grammatical usage quite foreign to it, and belonging properly to the Restoration?

## PART V. SHAKESPEARE'S MODELING OF HIS MATERIAL

WHENCE Shakespeare drew the main elements of his plot for 'Macbeth' is plain enough beyond any reasonable doubt upon comparison of the extracts quoted in the following pages (see Part VII., 'Shakespeare's Literary Material,') with the corresponding portions of the play as suggested by the titles there given to these extracts.

But, in making the suggested comparisons and tracing the closer and the less close resemblances between the poet and the older writers whose books he made use of, it is important to inquire how he remodeled the borrowed facts and traits, how he blent in with them various stray suggestions not belonging to them at all, and how he harmonized them to fit in with other elements of the story that are apparently entirely of his own devising. The divergences must be noticed even more than the similarities. It is far more important and instructive to catch in this way some glimpses of genius in its workshop, than it is to notice where it is directly dependent upon the borrowed material.

*How* Shakespeare borrowed, then, more than *where* he borrowed, is the question to consider here. What effects he had in mind may be revealed to the student in some degree if he seek to discern how the poet put his raw, inert material into lifelike dramatic shape.

The first extract given, illustrating the weather's contrariness at the opening of the play, immediately precedes, in the old Chronicle of Holinshed, the chapter telling the story of King Duncan and his Cousin Macbeth. In midwinter there was earthquake and flood; in midsummer there were storms and frosts, — the best of times became the worst of times.

The violent contrasts and contradictions thus suggested are summed up so well in the striking nature phrase uttered by the witches in chorus at the beginning of the play, that it may be suspected when Shakespeare was brooding over the making of this story into a play, that his eye caught at this neighboring passage, and drew out the pith of it for his purpose, in this short phrase, — ‘Fair is foul and foul is fair,’ — and made it pitch the key for the tragedy.

Notice how it accords with the witch-element of the play. Does it agree with the popular idea of the relations of witches with bad weather? (See the allusions to witches and weather in the extracts from Scot given in the following pages, Second Section), and show wherein the allusions to outdoor phenomena throughout the play are made to wear a weird aspect, suiting this opening phrase.

The same phrase recurs, like a Wagner *leit-motif*, on Macbeth’s first appearance. What new value and deeper meaning does it acquire by its dramatic application to the tragic person and fate of the hero?

If it be accepted that this phrase was suggested by the abnormal nature passage in Holinshed (here, we believe first pointed out), it may be taken as a good specimen of a true poet’s borrowing. What he takes he does no wrong to, for he makes it richer than it was before. The leaden commonplace on the weather turns to gold under his touch, and passes current the world over thenceforth. It is none the less applicable to new uses, afterward moreover, but rather the more so in that it has been appropriated and precisely adapted to fit in with his special artistic requirements for the time being.

In the accounts of ‘Macdonwald’s Rebellion,’ and ‘The Norweyan Invasion,’ what is left out, what taken? Just what is desirable to further his plot he selects, and the rest he drops. Bring this out fully. Show, in particular, if he weaves in, here and there, as minor colors in his pattern, incidents that are more important in the history. For example, notice how he intro-

duces the money paid out at St. Colme's Inch, the stratagem of the banquet given the enemy, and the berry juice which acted as a drug. Does he make Banquo allude to this when he lets fall his mention of the 'insane root,' as if it were a familiar thing both to Macbeth and himself? Or is this reference blind?

Long ago, Guthrie, in writing on English tragedy, said that the portrait of Macbeth's wife was copied from Buchanan, who wrote in Latin, and 'whose spirit as well as words is translated into the play by Shakespeare.' Dr. Farmer, in his 'Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare' (1767), combated this as regards Lady Macbeth. He said that he 'could see no more spirit in the Scotch than in the English chronicler,' and that he could 'demonstrate' Shakespeare had not the story from Buchanan, but from Holinshed following Bellenden's translation of Boece. His demonstration consisted in showing how wide Buchanan's forms of expressions were from Shakespeare's, and how precisely Holinshed's were employed by Shakespeare, especially in the Third Witch's prophecy — 'that shalt be king hereafter.' He proved his point as against Buchanan and in favor of Holinshed. In this witch scene, in particular, also, it was obvious that Holinshed and not Bellenden was used, as a comparison of the two corresponding passages, as given in this volume (Second Section, Part VII.), will confirm. Ever since then, the editors of Shakespeare, in general, have bettered his instruction, and not only accepted Holinshed, but Holinshed alone, as Shakespeare's source.

As regards Macbeth's wife, however, there is in Bellenden a passage omitted in Holinshed, yet echoed in Shakespeare. This passage describes Lady Macbeth as impatient of long tarry, as all women are, and as goading her husband on to achieve for himself the third prophecy's fulfillment, by calling him coward, feeble, unambitious, and not man enough to dare the risk of such fortune as was assured him.

Strange to say, Dr. Farmer quoted the two references to Macbeth's wife in Holinshed and in his predecessor Bellenden, noticed that Holinshed had much abridged Bellenden, yet failed



to point out that Shakespeare had made here not indirect use through Holinshed of Bellenden, but direct use. The argument Dr. Farmer was carrying on in his essay, however, was directed against Shakespeare's use of the Latin history. Bellenden's somewhat Scotchified English is still English. It is strange that others, accepting Dr. Farmer's conclusions, have not noticed the interesting revelation he made no point of, yet incidentally brought out, that the one main character in this drama, who owes least to these old chroniclers and who is so largely Shakespeare's own peculiar creation, finds here in Bellenden the strongest basis she has outside of her creator's imagination.

Compare the two passages in question, as given further on, inquiring what Shakespeare owes to them. Observe how he has built out of Bellenden, and away beyond him, in making his Lady Macbeth especially feminine, in giving her a zealous and practically useful part in the inception of the tragedy, while guarding against letting it appear that it owed to her either its initiation or its later and bitterer fruits. Notice how the diplomacy which Bellenden implies was due to his wife, in winning his friends to support him at Inverness, is made use of and yet departed from, also, in painting Lady Macbeth.

How much, on the other hand, has the poet built upon in the Holinshed reference to her? Does he paint her as 'verie ambitious, burning in unquenchable desire to beare the name of a queene'? Does he weave in the hint as to her ardor, but turn it to another purpose? By blending with that ardor the influential and practical quality suggested by Bellenden, an active-souled, queenly woman is constructed, whose fate it shall be to see with opened eyes how her largely unselfish ambition for her husband can work out, through his success, his ruin and her own desperate remorse. Or if your view of Lady Macbeth is different, combat these suggestions, with reference to Holinshed.

What light do the references to Banquo in the two chroniclers throw upon Shakespeare's Banquo? Does he depart most interestingly from both of them by clearing Banquo far more than they

do of complicity with Macbeth? Does he leave the point open for dramatic effect only, because Banquo must not prevent the murder, while really intimating his guilt later on, and following the chroniclers therefore, except only where as a dramatist he must keep his plot intact?

How far does Shakespeare's artfully constructed plot follow the actual story of Macbeth? Observe where the incidents of another story work in conveniently. Just where the Chronicle has nothing to say of Macbeth's slaying of Duncan, except that he did it, and Shakespeare, in making a play out of it, desires to show how he did it, and what the immediate effects of it were, the Macbeth account is discarded, and the account in Holinshed of how another man killed another king is found useful to take from and depart from, manipulating all afresh. How much has he taken and left from the story of King Duffe's murder by Donwald? See the extracts given here entitled 'How it Led to Murder,' 'The Undivulged Pretense of Treasonous Malice,' and 'Abnormal Nature.' Notice especially the skill with which Donwald's killing of the chamberlains is borrowed for Macbeth's next morning.

In the part about the open postern gate do you notice a possible suggestion to Shakespeare's imagination to create the porter scene of II. iii.? Is the suggestion important as verifying the porter scene to be Shakespeare's?

The suspicion of the lords, checked by their caution, appears with special reason for it in Banquo; and in what others? And show how in Macduff's attitude toward Macbeth after the murder Shakespeare has introduced action suggested by Holinshed's description of how some, having their own opinion and waiting 'till time and place should better serve,' hereupon got them 'awaie everie man to his home.'

What might be called the University tradition in Shakespeare editing of suspecting the 'low' parts in the Plays to be un-Shakespearean, was begun by Pope, who took out of the text the groundling and clownish scenes, and printed them in smaller type at the foot of the page. Hanmer followed him, and even the

judicious Capell made it a habit to note these parts as not received by Pope, whose judgment apparently had no other basis than his personal taste in an age divergent from the Elizabethan. The Cambridge editors, the direct heirs of Capell and the University dynasty, as it were, did not follow this manner of printing, but they have thrown the weight of their authority against the porter scene which Pope relegated to the foot of his page, and also against the Hecate scene, and the 'selfe and violent hands' of Lady Macbeth's end. Fleay has followed headlong and cast doubt also (see his 'Shakespeare Manual,' chapter on 'Macbeth') on the scene between Ross and the Old Man, II. iv. Compare this scene with the extract from Holinshed given under the title 'Abnormal Nature,' and notice whether the comparison argues for this scene being peculiarly Shakespearian or not. The resemblances are manifest; but others besides Shakespeare borrow. See how he has made it into realistic dialogue, and connecting it with superstitious rumors of the people concerning the family affairs of their rulers, has put it in the form of folk talk, as it were, in the mouths of this old grandfather and the two suspicious lords, Macduff and Ross, who are gossiping with him.

Dr. Furness first pointed out the link of resemblance between King Kenneth's remorse and Macbeth's, in the supernatural voice that cried to Kenneth, striking him with awe and sleeplessness. The idea given in the Holinshed extract (see Part VII., there entitled 'Macbeth's Remorse') is however in Shakespeare surcharged both with poetry and with dramatic vividness.

How is it that the droning, almost sermonizing effect of the passage in the Chronicle is transformed in the Drama into a lively stroke of dramatic impressionism, peculiarly personal to Macbeth?

Compare the poetic rendering of this passage with the various Elizabethan verses on Sleep, quoted in Part VIII. of this volume.

Has Shakespeare made any use of the witness of the Chronicle in the extract here entitled 'Macbeth on the Throne'?

A modern writer might fasten upon Macbeth's unusual consideration toward women (shown in his laws, given in Holinshed, per-

mitting the eldest daughter to inherit land, and the wife, though childless, to have her third) as clues to the character of Macbeth's wife and the respect in which he held her. Is it fair to argue as much for Shakespeare? Has Shakespeare followed any hint derived from the laws in making Macbeth childless? Or is this a natural contrast with Banquo's unending issue? Notice that Fleance in the extract here entitled, 'Banquo's Issue,' is given some 'inkling' of his danger by friends at Court, after his father's apparently accidental death. How does Shakespeare manage this in the drama? Show how all that the wonderful banquet scene rests upon, so far as the Chronicle is concerned, is this 'inkling' Fleance has from 'friends which he had in the Court.' So also those haunting murderer scenes grow out of the slight references in Holinshed to the 'darke night' and Macbeth's 'handling of the matter,' so that it might appear to be 'chance medlie.'

Is the final appearance of the witches in the drama authorized by the Chronicle? How much that is new and significant has Shakespeare interwoven? The prophecies as to Macduff and Birnam Wood are not only made the most of; another prophecy is so blended with these that the second thread of the plot, taking its start from Macduff, is thus made to appear as if it were a strand of the first thread which originally led Macbeth into conflict with Banquo. The disjointedness that there is in the story exists really in the plot of the play, too, in so far as retribution does not come to Macbeth through Fleance or any of Banquo's issue, but through Macduff.

Yet Shakespeare has in two ways done much to bridge and hide this break. First, he has introduced in the second series of prophecies an original prophecy that links in with the early part of the play and with the end of it, yet to come. Second, he has made the external plot, and the witch scenes in particular, significant of the subjective plot which takes place from inception to retribution within Macbeth's own nature and development.

Show how he has added to and shaped over the materials supplied in the extracts entitled, 'Macbeth turns on Macduff,' 'The



Witches Again,' 'Macduff's Flight,' 'Birnam Wood,' etc., so that all tends toward unifying as well as carrying on the tragedy, making Macduff and Malcolm the instruments, as it were, of 'Banquo's issue,' that is, of the royal Scotch-English line of kings foreshadowed both in the downfall of Macbeth through Malcolm's victory, and in the voice of the crowned child, and in the show of kings.

Is this latter part of the second set of prophecies — the provision of the English twofold balls and treble scepters — in effect here merely a compliment to the then reigning king, James VI. of Scotland, I. of England, as has been supposed? Or does it suit Shakespeare's dramatic scheme too well not to have been designed?

It has been considered that the scene narrating the English king's cures for the evil, is an interpolation having no place in the original draft of the plot. But it has an agreement with the solution of the plot, which is the English cure of Scotland's evil, by enabling Malcolm and Macduff to rid the land of Macbeth. And it is in accord, too, with the talk of Macbeth with the Physician over the possibility of finding and purging the disease of Scotland. Is it a coincidence that an interpolation should fit in so nicely with the scheme of a play? What light upon the question is thrown by the evidence of the extract from Holinshed, on the 'King's Cures,' cited here, so far as we know, for the first time?

Is the passage in Holinshed (see 'Macduff and Malcolm,' part VII.), relating the conversation between Malcolm and Macduff, the least changed by Shakespeare of any of the material used by him? Is it, therefore, the least interesting?

Parallel the brief minor passages in Shakespeare and in Holinshed, 'Seyton,' 'The Siwards,' 'The First Earls,' etc., as given here in Part VII. They are merely noteworthy as showing what Shakespeare saw in them that was convenient for his lesser purposes.

Finally, turning once more to the witch material (see Part VII. 'The Witches Again,' 'The Massacre at Fife'), observe how the poet has amplified on the idea to be found in the crude kernel in

Holinshed's account of the 'vaine hope' raised in Macbeth, by the second set of prophecies. The mainspring of the action during the latter part of the drama is made to take its rise from this 'vaine hope' supplied by the Chronicle. This 'vaine hope,' moreover, says Holinshed, 'caused him to doo manie outrageous thinges,' among them the slaughter of Macduff's family. From this outrageous thing Shakespeare nurses and prepares the vengeance that shall prove how delusive was the vain hope, and yet how by means of it Fate conquered the man who dared challenge her.

One witch passage in Holinshed given in our extracts and not yet discussed (see 'Witches' Mischief') is generally held to be used by Shakespeare in I. iii. In the Chronicle it has nothing to do with Macbeth; neither has it in the drama. This story of King Duffe's wasting away and sleeplessness on account of the witches' spells over a waxen image is used so indirectly by Shakespeare that the indirection is interesting. The waxen image is as disregarded as the one in Horace. (See Part VIII., 'Literary Illustrations.') The likeness between the two passages begins and ends with the statement of the First Witch that the sailor over whom she had cast her spell was to 'dwindle peak and pine' as Duffe did, and be unvisited by sleep. Yet out of this comes the local color wanted for the presentation of the witches by themselves in a characteristic scene.

The question how far Shakespeare drew from the darker and deeper potencies of witchcraft, typically presented not in such vulgar malice as this of the First Witch, but in the queenlier might of Ovid's Medea and of her goddess, Hecate, will depend upon the view taken of the superior profundity promised from the first by the Third Witch, and the pertinence to the plot of both the determination of Macbeth 'to know by the worst means the worst,' and the determination of Hecate to lure him on to bear 'his hopes 'bove wisdom, grace, and fear.' The indirect use is harder to show, but is not less convincing, if the course of the play as a whole is seen to cohere with it. The supernatural element is enriched by various references in the play bearing on sorcery in

general. What indications of Shakespeare's familiarity with the popular witch-lore of Scot, and with the classic witch-lore of Ovid, appear on a comparison of the allusions in the play with the extracts given in Part VI.? Whatever appears in the more modern guise had its antecedents, of course, in pagan traditions, and this fact adds to the interest of the query whether the vulgar witch-lore of the time is deepened by Shakespeare in touches suggestive of classic witch-lore and betraying his consciousness of the antiquity of this part of his literary material.

The more external mummery of witchcraft, such as appears in the main witch scenes of 'Macbeth,' is not unusual anywhere. It is only put more poetically. The same sort of trickery comes to the fore in such a play as Middleton's 'Witch,' but in the vastly more unclean forms which Shakespeare markedly avoids. The element in Shakespeare's witch scenes which distinguishes them is subtle and most unusual. It consists in the subjective influence of his witches. The psychological interplay between Macbeth and his weird sisters, and their evocation of his character and destiny through their revelation of his secret desires, is neither Elizabethan nor classic so much as it is modern, or tending toward the modern.

It is of supreme interest, therefore, to notice that Holinshed, in his obtuse fashion, supplies one little witch incident possessing this unusual subjective quality.

This extract, in Part VII., entitled 'Another Witch Prophecy,' is cited here, we believe, for the first time. Its psychological value is undeveloped, of course. Holinshed and the general mind of his day did not discern its quality. The question is, Did Shakespeare's mind discern it and creatively develop what may be called the subjective side of his witchcraft in 'Macbeth' out of the thoughts aroused in him by this obscure hint?

Do you think that such a prophecy as this, — relating how the mind of the king's friend in whom he reposed an absolute trust was eaten into by the witch's words so that he was impelled to slay the king, — likely to have been peculiarly fascinating and fruitful to the mind that was to create 'Macbeth'?

## PART VI. MOOT POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

### I. How far is the action of the play shaped by the witches?

‘THE first thought of acceding to the throne is suggested, and success in the attempt is promised to Macbeth by the witches ; he is, therefore, represented as a man whose natural temper would have deterred him from such a design if he had not been immediately tempted and strongly impelled to it.’ (Whateley’s ‘Remarks on Some Characters of Shakespeare,’ 1785, quoted in the *Furness Variorum*.)

‘The power of the weird sisters is nowhere exhibited as absolute, but always as relative. It is shown to depend upon what in a man’s soul has affinities for that power. Where these affinities do not exist their power is naught.’ (Corson, ‘Introduction to Shakespeare,’ 1890.)

Can these two opposite views be reconciled as the natural results of an evolution of thought which at first regarded temptation as from an external or anthropomorphic devil, and later as the prompting of a bad conscience? Which is the point of view Shakespeare is likelier to have had? Is it a mistake to suppose his mind confined to the level of most of his contemporaries?

### OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

1. Banquo’s reception of the witches contrasts with Macbeth’s, and illustrates Corson’s opinion.

2. Banquo stands in the same external relation to the witches’ prophecies as Macbeth, which proves that their joint temptation causes the action.



## II. Do the witches ever really prophesy? or is the plot only illustrated by their revelations?

If their revelations are merely reflections of what is in Macbeth's mind, how can the apparition of the armed head (supposed to be Macbeth's own head cut off), of the bloody child (the image of Macduff's birth), of the crowned child with the tree in its hand (prophetic of the 'moving wood'), be explained?

But, in order to have sought, must not Macbeth first have needed the assurances the apparitions gave? Must he not have been led to apprehend defeat, by his bitterness in being childless, and by his dread of Macduff and of the Prince of Cumberland, before he could be drawn on to 'spurn fate, scorn death, and bear his hopes 'bove wisdom, grace, and fear?' (III. v. 29.)

The apparitions are symbols of Macbeth's own potentiality; for it is, as it were, his own dis severed head (that is, his own fear of Macduff making him anticipate his doom) that bids him beware Macduff. Yet, after all, it is not Macduff of whom he must really beware, but himself; the bloody child declares that none of woman born shall harm him, still it was not Macduff's untimely birth that makes him dangerous to Macbeth, but the wrongs he himself will have done the thane of Fife; the crowned child with the tree warns him of his peril when Birnam Wood shall come to Dunsinane, still it is not Banquo's issue nor the 'moving wood' but the murdered Duncan's son who brings Macbeth to his confusion. All these foreshadowings are then really spectral shows of the actual facts and causes in Macbeth's character and deeds.

### OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

1. Macbeth's mind was not open enough to understand these apparitions; therefore he could not have prefigured them, and this proves that the witches are meant to be real, and that they not only illustrate but create the plot.

2. The character of a man is his history, says Goethe. From such a conception of destiny the plot and structure of Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' arise.

### III. Was Banquo guilty?

'Banquo was as deep in the murder of the king, as some of the Scottish writers inform us (see "Shakespeare's Literary Material" in this volume, Part VII.) as Macbeth. But Shakespeare, with great art and address, deviates from the history. By these means his characters have the greater variety, and he at the same time pays a compliment to King James, who was lineally descended from Banquo.' (Upton, 'Critical Remarks on Shakespeare,' 1746.)

'Banquo appears to have been specially designed as a counter agency to the agency of the weird sisters . . . and as a support or encouragement to Macbeth's free agency if he chose to assert it.' (Corson, 'Introduction to Shakespeare,' 1890.)

Does Banquo show his complicity with Macbeth by submission to the oracle, or his innocence by his indifference to its promise? Why does Banquo give up his sword when he has 'cursed thoughts,' and cannot sleep, and has cause to fear — as he afterward says he does fear — that Macbeth will play 'most foully'? Was this part of what Macbeth calls that 'wisdom that doth guide his valor to act in safety'? (III. i. 52.) Why does Macduff refuse to go to Scone to see Macbeth crowned? Is he franker than Banquo?

That Banquo was not guilty of intentional complicity with Macbeth in helping him to the throne is sufficiently shown by Macbeth's fear of him (III. i. 46-72); but it must be remembered that the prophecy as to Banquo's issue would alone be enough to make Macbeth suspicious of him and account him an obstacle, even if he did not think him good; and the caution and silence passively helping Macbeth's accession (though Banquo may have been merely biding the best time to unmask Duncan's murderer) show him to be not so 'unco' guid' as 'unco' canny.'

#### OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

1. 'Banquo's sympathy with, nay, complicity in, the murder of Duncan is made perfectly clear. . . . The poet transforms Banquo's crime into one which consists in remaining silent, in refus-

ing to act.' (Flathe, 'Shakespeare in seiner Wirklichkeit,' Furness's Variorum. See also 'Banquo,' by Colin S. Buell, *Poet-lore*, Vol. XI. No 1.)

2. 'Banquo, as Macbeth admits, is noble, wise, and brave. . . The greater and happier fortune of Banquo did not consist alone or chiefly in the sovereignty that was to come to his descendants. . . . Moreover, to make Banquo bad would destroy the artistic balance of the drama. The royal pair of criminals, "magnificent in sin," need no iniquitous rivals near the infernal throne. Banquo is wanted on the other side.' ('Was Banquo Bad?' by W. J. Rolfe, *Poet-lore*, Vol. XI. No. 3.)

#### IV. Why does Lady Macbeth faint?

'In II. iii. 115-122 . . . on Lady Macbeth's seeming to faint, while Banquo and Macduff are solicitous about her, Macbeth, by his unconcern, betrays a consciousness that the fainting is feigned.' (Whateley, 'Remarks on Some Characters of Shakespeare,' 1785.)

'Most editors suppose this fainting fit to be a pretence, but I am convinced that Shakespeare meant it to be real. Various causes have coöperated to beget in Lady Macbeth a revulsion of feeling, which, from henceforth constantly increasing, drives her at last to self-destruction.' (Bodenstedt, 'Macbeth,' 1867.)

'Macbeth was alone, facing the grooms still heavy with their drugged sleep, and knowing that in another moment they would be aroused and telling their tale: the sense of crisis proves too much for him, and under an ungovernable impulse, he stabs them. He thus wrecks the whole scheme. How perfectly Lady Macbeth's plan would have served, if it had been left to itself, is shown by Lennox's account of . . . the grooms. . . . Nothing, it is true, can be finer than the way in which Macbeth seeks to cover his mistake. . . . But . . . his efforts are in vain, and at the end of his speech we feel that there has arisen in the company . . . the indescribable effect known as a 'sensation'; and we listen for some one to speak some word that shall be irrevocable. The crisis is acute, but Lady Macbeth comes to the rescue *and faints!*

. . . there is at once a diversion. (Moulton, 'Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist,' 1888.)

'The dramatist had his reasons for causing Macbeth's hypocritically poetic description of the scene of the murder to be thus publicly delivered in the presence of her whose hands have had so large a share in giving it that particular aspect. It lends double force to this most characteristic trait of Macbeth's deportment, that he should not be moved, even by his lady's presence, from delivering his affectedly indignant description of that bloody spectacle, in terms which must so vividly recall to her mind's eye the sickening objects which his own moral cowardice had compelled her to gaze upon. His words draw from Lady Macbeth the instant exclamation, "Help me hence, ho!" . . . It is remarkable that, upon her exclamation of distress, Macduff, and shortly after Banquo, cries out, "Look to the lady"; but that we find not the smallest sign of attention paid to her situation by Macbeth himself, who, arguing from his own character to hers, might regard it merely as a dexterous feigning on her part.' (Fletcher, 'Studies of Shakespeare,' 1847.)

Lady Macbeth's energy of mind and will give her her prompt remorse and piteous reaction of feeling. They give her also her early ascendancy over her husband; and his consciousness of this and emulation of her force of character bring about their reversal of position, of which her swoon and his daring, if not foolhardy act in this scene are signs. Note his repetitions of her earlier counsels, — her 'When you durst do it, then you were a man,' etc., I. vii. 47, and his 'Now, if you have a station in the file, Not in the worst rank of manhood,' etc. (III. i. 101), her 'Art thou afeard To be the same in thine own act . . . as thou art in desire?' etc. (I. vii. 39-45), and his from hence 'The very firstlings of my heart shall be The firstlings of my hand' (IV. i. 145-150); and find similar echoes. That Macbeth's hallucinations are waking, and his wife's somnambulistic, indicates her greater self-control. Her command of her consciousness weakens only when she is physically unhinged, 'caught napping,' as it were.



## OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

'Macbeth's remorse constitutes the element of horror in the play. Almost as much pity is felt for the murderer as for his victim. The true title of the tragedy might be crime, remorse, and expiation. Lady Macbeth alone appears to stand outside the pale of morality. . . . All the great crimes in Shakespeare are inspired by wicked women; men may execute, but cannot conceive them. The creature of sentiment is more depraved than the man of crime. . . . In committing the murder Macbeth succumbed to a strength of depravity superior to his own. This strength of depravity is the ardent imagination of his wife. . . . [His] is the weakness of a strong man opposed to the seductions of a perverted woman.' (Lamartine, 'Shakespeare et son Œuvre,' 1865, quoted by Furness.)

'She is nothing of the kind. She is of a proud, ardent nature, a brave, consistent, loving woman, that derives her courageous consistency from the depths of her affection, absorbed in her husband's life and pursuits; and after the first steps in crime sinks under the burden of guilt heaped upon her soul.' (F. A. Leo, 'Macbeth,' 1871, quoted by Furness.)

'The original choice for evil has for both been made by Macbeth. . . . The exact key to her character is given by regarding her as the antithesis of her husband, and an embodiment of the inner life and culture so markedly wanting in him. She has had the feminine lot of being shut out from active life, and her genius and energy have been turned inwards; her soul — like her "little hand" — is not hardened for the working-day world, but is quick, delicate, sensitive.' (Moulton.)

## V. How did Lady Macbeth look?

'Her whole appearance ought to be royal, as one for whose powerful features and majestic bearing the diadem is the befitting adornment. Her countenance ought to display noble and energetic outlines, from whose every feature mean desires are

banished; it should presage demoniac forces, with never a trace of moral ugliness nor aught repellent. The glittering eye betrays the restless, busy ardor of the disposition, while the finely chiselled lips and the nostrils must eloquently express scorn of moral opposition and a determined purpose in crime. Her queenly bearing, as well as the nobility of all her movements, proclaims her title to the highest earthly greatness and power. Lady Macbeth's looks ought to enchain, and yet, withal, chill us, for such features can awaken no human sympathy, and can only disclose the dominion of monstrous powers.' (Rötscher, 'Shakespeare in seiner Character-bilden,' as quoted by Furness.)

'We figure Lady Macbeth to have been a tawny or brown blonde Rachel, with more beauty, with gray and cruel eyes, but with the same slight, dry configuration and constitution, instinct with determined nerve-power. . . . In Maclise's great painting of the banquet scene she is represented as a woman of large and coarse development: a Scandinavian Amazon, the muscles of whose brawny arms could only have been developed to their great size by hard and frequent use; a woman of whose fists her husband might well be afraid. . . . Was Lady Macbeth such a being? Did the fierce fire of her soul animate the epicene bulk of a virago? Never! Lady Macbeth was a lady, beautiful and delicate, whose one vivid passion proves that her organization was instinct with nerve-force, unoppressed by weight of flesh. Probably she was small; for it is the smaller sort of women whose emotional fire is the most fierce.' ('The Mad Folk of Shakespeare,' T. C. Bucknill, 1867.)

'Shakespeare gives us no hint as to her personal charms, except when he makes her describe her hand as "little." We may be sure that there were few "more thoroughbred or fairer fingers" in the land of Scotland than those of its queen, whose bearing in public towards Duncan, Banquo, and the nobles is marked by elegance and majesty; and, in private, by affectionate anxiety for her sanguinary lord.' (Maginn, 'Shakespeare Papers,' 1860.)

In her 'are associated the subjugating power of intellect and

the charms and graces of personal beauty. You will probably not agree with me as to the character of that beauty . . . it is of that character which I believe is generally allowed to be most captivating to the other sex, — fair, feminine, nay, perhaps, even fragile. . . . Vaulting ambition and intrepid daring rekindle in a moment all the splendours of her dark blue eyes. . . . Her feminine nature, her delicate structure, . . . are soon overwhelmed by the enormous pressure of her crimes. . . . Her frailer frame and keener feelings have now sunk under the struggle, — his robust and less sensitive constitution has not only resisted it, but bears him on to deeper wickedness, and to experience the fatal fecundity of crime.' (Sarah Siddons, 'Remarks on the Character of Lady Macbeth,' in Campbell's 'Life of Mrs. Siddons.' See also quotation from Rolfe's 'Macbeth' Notes, p. 255, giving Weiss's confirmation of this opinion.)

#### OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

'She is . . . a sort of sister of Milton's Lucifer, and, like him, we surely imagine her externally majestic and beautiful. Mrs. Siddons's idea of her having been a delicate and blonde beauty seems to me to be a pure caprice. The public would have ill exchanged such a representative of Lady Macbeth for the dark locks and the eagle eyes of Mrs. Siddons.' (Campbell.)

'No one doubts that he has shown us in the spirit of Lady Macbeth that masculine firmness of will which he has made wanting in her husband. The strictest analogy, then, would lead him to complete the harmonizing contrast of the two characters by enshrining this "undaunted mettle" of hers in a frame as exquisitely feminine as her husband's is magnificently manly. This was requisite, also, in order to make her taunts of Macbeth's irresolution operate with the fullest intensity. Such sentiments from the lips of what is called a masculine looking or speaking woman have little moral energy compared with what they derive from the ardent utterance of a delicately feminine voice and

nature. Mrs. Siddons, then, we believe, judged more correctly in this matter than the public.' (Fletcher.)

## VI. Did Shakespeare write the Porter Scene ?

[ 'This low soliloquy of the porter, and his few speeches afterwards, I take to have been written for the mob by some other hand, perhaps with Shakespeare's consent; and that, finding it take, he with the remaining ink of a pen otherwise employed just interpolated the words, "I'll devil-porter it no further: I had thought to have let in some of all professions, that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire." Of the rest not one syllable has the ever-present being of Shakespeare.' (Coleridge, 'Notes and Lectures,' 1849.) ]

'Nevertheless, we cannot help thinking . . . it to have been not only his composition, but . . . naturally considered. . . . It serves to lengthen dramatic time, and . . . its repulsively coarse humor serves powerfully to contrast, yet harmonise, with the crime.' (M. and C. C. Clarke, 'Shakespeare.')

'Without this scene, Macbeth's *dress* cannot be shifted nor his hands washed. To give a rational space for the discharge of these actions was this scene thought of.' (Capell, 'Notes,' p. 13, 1779.)

[ 'A porter's speech is an integral part of the play; it is necessary as a relief to the surrounding horror; it is necessary according to the law of contrast elsewhere obeyed; the speech we have is dramatically relevant; its style and language are Shakespearian.' (J. W. Hales, in 'New Shakspeare Society Transactions,' 1874.) ]

'The knocking at the gate . . . reflected back upon the murder a peculiar awfulness and a depth of solemnity . . . the reaction has commenced; the human has made its reflux on the fiendish; the pulses of life are beginning to beat again; and the re-establishment of the goings on of the world in which we live first makes us profoundly sensible of the awful parenthesis that had suspended them.' (De Quincey, 'Essays,' 1851.)



## OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

‘ To us this comic scene, not of a high class of comedy at best, seems strangely out of place amid the tragic horrors which surround it, and is quite different in effect from the comic passages which Shakespeare has introduced into other tragedies.’ (Clarendon Press ‘ Shakespeare.’)

‘ Nothing more admirably fitted-than this scene for the purpose of supplying the transition from one point of effect to another could be given; and any critical censure of the poet for what he has done results from ignorance of his art. The true dramatist will estimate it at its worth.’ (J. A. Heraud, ‘ Shakespeare’s Inner Life,’ 1865, as quoted by Furness.)

## VII. The Third Murderer

‘ Macbeth was himself the third murderer; and this is apparent because, — first, although the banquet was to commence at seven, Macbeth did not go there till near midnight; second, his entrance to the room and the appearance of the murderers are almost simultaneous; third, so dear to his heart was the success of this plot, that during the four or five hours before the banquet he must have been taken up with the intended murder some way or other. He could not have gone to the feast with the bare chance of the plot miscarrying; fourth, if there had been a third murderer sent to superintend the other two, he must have been Macbeth’s chief confidant, and as such in all probability would have been the first to announce the result; fifth, the “twenty mortal murders” was a needless and devilish kind of mutilation, not like the work of hirelings; sixth, the third murderer repeated the precise instructions given to the other two, showed unusual intimacy with the exact locality, the habits of the visitors, etc., and seems to have struck down the light, probably to escape recognition; seventh, there was a levity in Macbeth’s manner with the murderer at the banquet which is quite explicable if he personally knew that Banquo was dead; eighth, when the ghost rises,

Macbeth asks those about him "which of them had done it," evidently to take suspicion off himself, and he says, in effect, to the ghost, "In yon black struggle you could *never know me*." (Mr. Allan Park Paton, in 'Notes and Queries,' September 11 and November 13, 1869.)

'The attendant was the third murderer. The stage directions are minute concerning one character not mentioned in the *Dramatis Personæ*; and where such directions are given by Shakespeare, I believe they are for a purpose, because he is generally careless in such matters and leaves them for the actors to carry out. Macbeth utters what little he has to say to this attendant in tone of marked contempt—suggestive of his being some wretched creature entirely in his power, not an ordinary servant, but a tool. Such a servant in moral bondage to his master would be employed to watch without the palace gate for the two murderers, whose services he had, by Macbeth's orders, secured. He need not have known the precise object of their interview with Macbeth; and I think it probable, from the action of the scene, that he was not told of it until after Macbeth's conversation (III. i.) with the two murderers, at the conclusion of which, I infer, he was commanded to watch them. The stage direction (III. i.) is, *Exeunt all but Macbeth and an attendant*; next is, *Re-enter attendant with two murderers*. Attendant then retires; but after Macbeth leaves them, as they go out by one door, he might follow by the other the attendant waiting there and instruct him. The exact familiarity which the third murderer shows suggests the attendant, whose familiar knowledge may have been a reason for connecting him with the deed, if only by an afterthought, lest it fail without it. In the banquet scene, if the attendant stood by the first murderer after bringing him in, the interview would seem open, and such a conversation could be better carried on under the eye of the whole company. Otherwise, the effect would be unmanageable and absurd, instead of a thrilling horror.' (Henry Irving in *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1877, pp. 327-330.)

### QUERIES FOR DISCUSSION

Why is a third murderer introduced? Was Macbeth the third murderer?

#### VIII. Is Hecate un-Shakespearian?

'If the fifth scene of Act III. had occurred in a drama not attributed to Shakespeare, no one would have discovered in it any trace of Shakespeare's manner; IV. i. 125-132 cannot be Shakespeare's.' (The Clarendon editors.)

'The witches discourse with one another like women of the very lowest class, to which witches were supposed to belong. . . . When they address Macbeth, their tone assumes the majestic solemnity by which oracles have in all times contrived to inspire mortals with reverential awe. We here see that the witches are merely instruments; they are governed by an invisible spirit, or the ordering of such great and dreadful events would be above their sphere.' (Schlegel, 'Lectures.')

'The wonderful pace at which the play was plainly written — a feverish haste drives it on — will account for many weaknesses in detail.' (Furnivall.)

Macbeth remarks long before the scene in which Hecate appears that 'witchcraft celebrates Pale Hecate's offerings' (II. i. 52). He again refers to Hecate's powers (III. ii. 41), 'ere to black Hecate's summons The shard-borne beetle with his drowsy hums Hath rung night's yawning peal, there shall be done A deed of dreadful note.' Do these references of Macbeth to Hecate militate against the supposition that the part of Hecate's is not Shakespeare's?

'The Hecate of III. v. and IV. i. occurs nowhere else in Shakespeare. Even in this play the "pale Hecate" whose "offerings witchcraft celebrates," the black Hecate who summons the beetle to ring "night's yawning peal," is the classical Hecate, the mistress of the lower world, arbiter of departed souls, patroness of magic, the threefold dreadful goddess: so she is in "Midsummer Night's

Dream," in "Lear," in "Hamlet": . . . in this play she is a common witch, as in Middleton's play (not a spirit, as the Cambridge editors say); the chief witch: who sails in the air indeed; all witches do that; but a witch: rightly described in the stage direction of the Folios), *Enter Hecate and the other three witches.*' (Fleay, 'Shakespeare Manual,' 1878.)

It should here be observed that upon Hecate's first appearance (III. v.) the stage direction of the Folios reads, *Enter the three witches meeting Hecate*, which furnishes quite as good an argument against Hecate's being a witch as the other stage direction does for it, since it might mean three witches besides those already on the stage. Steevens suggested the others might be brought in to join the coming dance. The Cambridge editors changed to *Enter Hecate to the other three Witches.* As there are frequently palpable printers' errors in the stage directions of the Folios, arguments based on them have to be taken with caution.

#### OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

'This un-Shakespearian Hecate does not use Shakespearian language: there is not a line in her part that is not in Middleton's worst style: her metre is a jumble of tens and eights (iambic not trochaic like Shakespeare's short lines), a sure sign of inferior work; and what is of the most importance, she is not of the least use in the play in any way: the only effect she produces is, that the three fate-goddesses, who in the introduction of the play were already brought down to ordinary witches, are lowered still further to witches of an inferior grade, with a mistress who "contrives their charms" and is jealous if any "trafficking" goes on in which she does not bear her part.' (Fleay.)

The part of Hecate is absolutely necessary in the development of the fatalistic side of the plot; as the Fates were subject to Zeus, so these witches were subject to Hecate, and were unable to fulfill the destiny of Macbeth without her aid. In the first scene they simply show the ordinary witch power of second sight, but in



IV. i., in order to lead Macbeth to his further confusion, they must show him apparitions; this they could not do without the aid of magic and Hecate, the goddess who presided over magic and its practicers—the witches. Furthermore, the growing power of the evil influences over Macbeth is symbolized in Hecate's first appearance (III. iv.), when she expresses her determination to have her finger in the destruction of this man who loves only for his own ends.

**IX. Does the language in Macbeth prove that many passages in the play are not Shakespeare's?**

Messieurs Clark and Wright 'are persuaded that there are parts which Shakespeare did not write': namely, I. ii., of which 'the slovenly metre is not like Shakespeare's work, even when he is most careless,' nor 'the bombastic phraseology of the Sergeant,' like 'Shakespeare's language even when he is most bombastic'; II. i. 1-37, and 'the feeble "tag,"' II. i. 61; II. iii. 1-23, 'the low soliloquy of the Porter'; III. v.; IV. i. 39-47, 125-132; V. v. 47-50, viii., 32-33; the last forty lines of the play. 'Shakespeare, who has inspired his audience with pity for Lady Macbeth, and made them feel that her guilt has been almost absolved by the terrible retribution which followed, would not have disturbed this feeling by calling her a "fiend-like queen"; nor would he have drawn away the veil which, with his fine tact he had dropt over her fate, by telling us that she had taken off her life by "self and violent hands."' (Clarendon Press Series, 1869.)

Singularly enough, this correction of 'Macbeth' is in all main points, from the clearing up of the 'slovenly metre' and 'bombastic phraseology' of the Sergeant, to the excision of the parts of the close of the play which indicate Macbeth's resistance of suicide, and Lady Macbeth's seizure of it, precisely the correction D'Avenant's taste effected when he amended the play for action 'at the Duke's Theatre.' Is that play as printed in 1674 in these respects more Shakespearian than the 'Macbeth' of the First Folio, 1623; or does the fact that the taste of the Restoration and the

criticism of these Victorian editors accord so perfectly upon these passages, conduce toward the conclusion that it is unwise to pronounce them un-Shakespearian? Are the suicide passages such as suit the scheme of the play as a whole, and is the 'Roman death' a favorite allusion in Shakespeare? Do other objections occur to you?

The Clarendon Press editors, 'following the suggestion originally made by Steevens as to the resemblances between "The Witch" and "Macbeth,"' conjecture that to Middleton these 'un-Shakespearian' passages are due, 'who to please the groundlings expanded the parts assigned to the weird sisters and introduced Hecate.' Fleay, enlarging on the same thesis, wrote:—

'I now give my theory as to the composition of the play. It was written by Shakespeare during his third period . . . its date was probably 1606 . . . at some time after this Middleton revised and abridged it. I agree with the Cambridge editors in saying not earlier than 1613. There is a decisive argument that he did so after he wrote the "Witch," namely, that he borrowed the songs from the latter play and repeats himself a good deal. It is to me very likely that he should repeat himself in "Macbeth," and somewhat improve on his original conception, as he has done in the corresponding passages; and yet be unable to do a couple of new songs, or to avoid the monotony of introducing Hecate in both plays (Hecate being a witch in both, remember) [not proven, remember]. I can quite understand a third rate man, who in all his work shows reminiscences of others and repetitions of Shakespeare, being unable to vary such conceptions as he formed on the subject. I believe that Middleton, having found the groundlings more taken with the witches, and the cauldron, and the visions in IV. i. than with the grander art displayed in the Fate goddesses of I. iii. determined to amalgamate these, and to give us plenty of them . . . I believe also the extra fighting in the last scenes was inserted for the same reason. But finding that the magic and the singing and the fighting made the play too long . . . he cut out large portions of the psychological Shakespeare work, in which,

as far as quantity is concerned, this play is very deficient compared with the three other masterpieces of world-poetry, and left us the torso we now have . . . Middleton altered many scenes by inserting rhyme tags.'

'Who could exhaust the praise of this sublime work? Since "The Furies" of Æschylus, nothing so grand and terrible has ever been composed. The witches are not, it is true, divine Eumenides, and are not intended to be so; they are ignoble and vulgar instruments of hell. A German poet, therefore, very ill understood their meaning when he transformed them into mongrel beings, a mixture of fates, furies, and enchantresses, and clothed them with tragical dignity. Let no man lay hand on Shakespeare's works to change anything essential in them; he will be sure to punish himself. . . . Shakespeare's picture of the witches is truly magical: in the short scenes where they enter, he has created for them a peculiar language, which, although composed of the usual elements, still seems to be a collection of formulæ of incantation. The sound of the words, the accumulation of the rhymes, and the rhythmus of the verse, form, as it were, the hollow music of a dreary dance of witches. . . . The witches discourse with one another like women of the very lowest class, for this was the class to which witches were supposed to belong; when, however, they address Macbeth, their tone assumes more elevation; their predictions, which they either themselves pronounce or allow their apparitions to deliver, have all the obscure brevity, the majestic solemnity, by which oracles have in all times contrived to inspire mortals with reverential awe.

'We here see that the witches are merely instruments; they are governed by an invisible spirit, or the ordering of such great and terrible events would be above their sphere.' (Schlegel, 'Lectures on Art and Dramatic Literature.')

'It exhibits throughout the hasty execution of a grand and clearly conceived design. But the haste is that of a master of his art, who, with conscious command of its resources, and in the frenzy of a grand inspiration, works out his composition to its

minutest detail of essential form, leaving the work of surface finish for the occupation of cooler leisure. . . . I am inclined to regard "Macbeth" as, for the most part, a specimen of Shakespeare's unelaborated, if not unfinished, writing, in the maturity and highest vitality of his genius. It abounds in instances of extremest compression and most daring ellipsis, while it exhibits in every scene a union of supreme dramatic and poetic power, and in almost every line an imperially irresponsible control of language. Hence, I think, its lack of completeness of versification in certain passages, and also some of the imperfection of the text, the thought in which the compositors were not always able to follow and apprehend.' (Richard Grant White.)

#### OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

1. 'Macbeth,' in its present state, is an altered copy of the original drama, and the alterations were made by Middleton. (Fleay.)

2. 'It would be very uncritical to pick out of Shakespeare's works all that seems inferior to the rest, and to assign it to somebody else. At his worst he is still Shakespeare; and though the least "mannered" of all poets he has always a manner that cannot be mistaken.' (Cambridge editors.)

3. The similarities between 'The Witch' and 'Macbeth' proves no more than that Shakespeare in this case, as in other provable cases (for examples see resemblances in the Plays to Holinshed, Plutarch, Greene, Chaucer, etc.), made use of anything that suited his purpose, and the fact that the passages so similar in 'Macbeth' always show an improvement in diction and a purposefulness in relation to character or plot militates in favor of Shakespeare's having borrowed from Middleton, rather than that Middleton either improved Shakespeare or borrowed from him. (Compare passages as given in 'Literary Illustrations,' in this volume, Part III., with 'Macbeth.')

4. To say that Shakespeare's manner is always recognizable is



to give almost divine powers to the critic, and is especially doubtful when the critic's standard of style is subjective, and as a thing apart, instead of dramatic, and a thing of relations to the subject.

### X. Nature in 'Macbeth'

What correspondences are there in 'Macbeth' between Nature and Man?

'Action, life, passion — men and women — are nearly all in all throughout Shakespeare's works, external nature being used only as a foil to show off the lights and shades of the great drama of human existence. Shakespeare does not paint landscape at all, as we now understand that word, not even for his own dramatic purposes.' (Forsyth, quoted by Furness.)

'The literal significance of this speech (I. iii. 38) is that the day has been foul in respect to the weather and fair in respect to the battle. . . . It intimates a relationship, noted by Coleridge, between Macbeth and the witches.' (Corson, p. 231.)

'So fair and foul a day I have not seen.' This and similar expressions bring out the relationship between human and natural conditions. What evidence is there that it is connected with the forthcoming action when 'to beguile the time' Macbeth is to 'look like the time . . . look like the innocent flower, But be the serpent under it?' Or, may it rather indicate that Macbeth, though pleased with the result of the battle, had a physical distaste for slaughter? What other signs are there of Macbeth's squeamishness? Is it still likelier that Shakespeare uses nature imagery, and such expressions as Macbeth's about the weather, because they match the mood shown, and give the scene the right color? Compare Lady Macbeth's and Duncan's expressions (I. iv. 39 and vi. 1-9). At the same time they find in the same signs an opposite significance.

### OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

1. 'In no other play has Shakespeare so represented the natural world as reflecting the moral world.' (Corson.) Compare 'Lear,' 'Hamlet,' 'As You Like It.'

2. It is refining too much to suppose that Shakespeare, in his day, could have meant so much philosophically and morally, as such an interpretation of his use of Nature in this play would involve. Compare with the use of Nature by contemporaries of Shakespeare, and claim that the reflection of the moral world in Nature is modern.

### XI. The Supernatural

Can the supernatural element in 'Macbeth' be explained away?

It might be claimed by a modern interpreter of supernatural events that the witches were clairvoyants, who read Macbeth's mind and simply announced what they found in it; that the air-drawn dagger and the ghost were both hallucinations arising from Macbeth's overwrought state of mind; that the visions the witches showed him, with Hecate's help, resulted from their hypnotizing him and making him see whatever they suggested.

If such interpretations would not have been possible to the knowledge of Shakespeare's time, must we suppose that what the poet intends to do in the play is deliberately to make use of the supernatural in the superstitions of the time to symbolize the powers outside of man working for his undoing, and in Macbeth the degeneration of a soul which responds to these evil powers?

Or is the whole supernatural paraphernalia meant to be an objective presentation of the degenerative forces inherent in Macbeth's mind and soul?

The action of Destiny in classic drama may be divided into two distinct phases: the oracular, — the revelation of destiny; the ironical, — the malignant mockery of destiny. 'Oracles are fulfilled in classic lore (1) by blind obedience, (2) by the agency of free will, or indifference, (3) in spite of opposition. . . . The three principal varieties . . . all . . . are illustrated in 'Macbeth.' . . . The rise of Macbeth, taken by itself, consists in an oracle and its fulfillment. . . . After his first excitement Macbeth resolves that he will have nothing to do with the temptation (I. iii. 143-146). . . . So far . . . an oracular action of the second

type; indifference and ignoring. But in the very next scene (I. iv. 48) he commits himself to the evil suggestion, and thus changes the type of action to the first variety, . . . of obedience. . . . In the latter half of the oracle, that Banquo was to get kings, originates through Macbeth's opposition to it, that type in which Destiny is fulfilled by the agency of a will that has been opposing it., (See Moulton, 'Shakespeare's Dramatic Art,' chap. vi.)

If, as Moulton thinks, this play is an example of the fulfilling of Destiny,—first through indifference to the oracle of the witches, then through obedience to it, finally through the opposing of the will to it,—then the witches must be objective manifestations and not the visible signs simply of Macbeth's own nature.

On the other hand, it may be claimed that 'there is a Fate which shows like that of an old Greek tragedy, with its supernatural ministers and its oracles veiled in mystery. But through the Passion and the Fate there appears the Moral Proportion of the play. . . . Macbeth's ambition for sovereignty and power, traced throughout the play, is found to be his fatal passion. . . . Macbeth is at first entirely a free agent; he is the author of his own passion and responsible for his own fall. . . . Then, when Will is but a vassal to obey passion in every particular, Macbeth is no longer a free agent; he is "passion's slave." . . . No longer capable of controlling himself, he must take his place with a lower order of creation and be ruled. This is the fatalism of passion,—the awful truth which this drama so forcibly embodies; the truth that the moment inward liberty is gone, that which is without interferes to wrench from the individual his outward liberty.' (See Ella Adams Moore, 'Moral Proportion and Fatalism in Macbeth,' in *Poet-lore*, Vol. VII., March, 1895.)

If the fatalism thus described is so prominently brought out by Shakespeare, must not the classic element of destiny and the supernatural be here employed more as the ethical symbols than as the actual factors of Macbeth's tragedy, no matter how concretely represented, as they must be in drama?

## OPPOSITE PROPOSITIONS FOR DEBATE

1. The supernatural element is common to all literature, because believed in as real and as the guiding force outside man. It is used as real in Shakespeare; and there is no reason to read more into it than appears, nor to suppose that he, in his day, used it with the modern skepticism which doubts its reality and imputes to it a psychical quality. Moreover, the witches are too completely characterized to be subjective; and the dramatic interest is enhanced by Macbeth's being a puppet of fate.

2. The supernatural element is used by Shakespeare in a peculiar way. It can only be thoroughly accounted for by supposing his manipulation of it here to be a remarkable anticipation of a point of view brought out more emphatically and succinctly by George Meredith, that virtue of character comes 'when we cast off the scales of hope and fancy, and surrender our claims on made chance, when the wild particles of this universe consent to march as they are directed.' (See 'George Meredith on the Source of Destiny,' by Emily Hooker, *Poet-lore*, Vol. XII. No 2.)

Moreover, the witches are not characterized to a degree that is inconsistent with both their dramatic presentation and their subordination to this inward destiny; the interest of the play demands that Macbeth shall be a free agent; the irony of destiny is in 'Macbeth' allied to justice; and the play, as a whole, shows the approach toward agreement between the old idea of destiny and the modern idea of cause and effect.

## XII. Shakespeare's Originality

## QUERIES FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what extent is the plot of 'Macbeth' built up out of Holinshed?
2. Does Shakespeare's witchcraft owe everything or nothing to Holinshed, Golding, and Scot?



3. What light is thrown upon Shakespeare's originality and style by a comparison of his 'Macbeth' with D'Avenant's version? What light, also, does it throw upon the change in public taste and criticism, that passages thought too extravagant and barbarous for the Restoration were a part of the Elizabethan text.

4. Is the divergence of the adaptation of 1674 (shown in scenes given here, Part VIII.) from the original 'Macbeth' the natural result of a different conception of the plot and of the relations of the characters, of which the altered diction and the omissions, etc., are but the external signs?

5. Should this exemplification of the historic evolution of literary criticism caution us against decisions as to what is un-Shakespearian in 'Macbeth,' if they are based on later taste, especially (1) if such decisions are passed on scenes built on Holinshed; (2) if they agree in taste with the adaptation of 1674; (3) if they are unsupported by a study of the dramatic structure of the play as a whole?

### XIII. Questions in Criticism

'Shakespeare's genius lay for comedy and humor. . . . Every one must be content to wear a fool's coat who comes to be dressed by him. . . . In tragedy, he appears quite out of his element; his brains are turn'd, he raves and rambles, without any coherence, any spark of reason, or any rule to control him or set bounds to his phrensy.' (Rymer, 'Short View of Tragedy,' 1693.)

'Shakespeare labouring with multiplicity of sublime ideas gives himself not time to be delivered of them by the rules of *slow, endeavouring art*, crowds various figures, metaphors upon metaphor, runs the hazard of far-fetched expression; condescends not to grammatical niceties.' (Upton, 'Critical Observations on Shakespeare,' 1746, referring here especially to Macbeth's soliloquy, I. vii. 16-28.)

'This play is deservedly celebrated for the propriety of its fictions, and the solemnity, grandeur, and variety of its action; but it has no nice discrimination of character; the events are too great

to admit the influence of particular dispositions, and the course of the action necessarily determines the conduct of the agents. . . . Lady Macbeth is merely detested . . . the courage of Macbeth preserves some esteem.' (Johnson, as quoted by Furness.)

'The less that women appear on the stage generally the better is the story; and unmarried women are left entirely out in Shakespeare's best plays, as in "Macbeth," "Othello," "Julius Cæsar."' (Upton.)

Are the witches to be supposed as married? Scot says, in his 'Discoverie of Witchcraft,' with similar scorn of women in general and the unmarried and aged in particular, and to the discredit of witchcraft on this account: 'See whether witches be not single, and of what credit, sexe, and age they are.'

#### QUERIES FOR DISCUSSION

On what ground are these criticisms justifiable? Were they true from certain points of view, or were they never true?

Is Lady Macbeth detested by all readers now, as Dr. Johnson said she was, or was this a feeling incident to his day?

Are readers now apt to agree with Upton that the play would be better if Lady Macbeth and the witches were left out? Are they likelier to consider the feminine element in Shakespeare's *Dramatis Personæ* one of the signal signs of his excellence beyond his day, amounting, in fact, to a long step, on the stage, toward such an opinion as the following, of George Meredith?

'The higher the comedy, the more prominent the part they [women] enjoy in it. . . . Where the veil is over women's faces, you cannot have society, without which the senses are barbarous.' ('An Essay on Comedy,' pp. 22, 53, 1897.)

Do these critics utter sound strictures upon extravagance in Shakespeare's diction, irregularities in his design, or do they but make it clear to the modern eye that their critical powers were for a day, the subject of them for all time?



## SECOND SECTION





## PART VII. SHAKESPEARE'S LITERARY MATERIAL

### The Opening: 'Fair is foul, and foul is fair'

'IN this season was seene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth made therewith in the midst of Striveling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adjoining to the river of Forth. In the Summer the Sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land than ever it had beene seene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of Saint John Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the Corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.'

From 'The First and Second volumes of Chronicles comprising 1 The Description and historie of England, 2 The Description and historie of Ireland, 3 The Description & historie of Scotland: First collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison and others: Now newlie augmented & continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yere 1586. by John Hooker aliàs Vowell Gent. and others.' — 'Historie of Scotland,' Edition of 1587, page 168.

### Macdonwald's Rebellion

' . . . King Malcolme in the 32 yeere of his reigne . . . and after the incarnation of our Saviour 1034 yeers . . . was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors . . .

'After Malcolme succeeded his nephue Duncane, the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one

which was this Beatrice, being given in marriage unto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie and thane of the Isles and west part of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane ; The other Called Doad, was married unto Sinell the thane of Glamis, by whome she had issue one Makbeth, a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not beene somewhat cruell of nature, might have beene thought most woorthie the government of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to have beene so tempered and enterchangeable bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might have reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane have proved a woorthie king, and Makbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable without anie notable trouble ; but after it was perceived how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misruled persons tooke occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

‘ Banquo the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioined the crowne of Scotland, even till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a doo to get awaie with life, after he had received sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands after hee was somewhat recovered of his hurts and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer unto such matters as should be laid to their charge : but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the

messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

‘Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanor against the kings regall authoritie, they should be invaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his neerest friends and kinsmen, tooke upon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels, as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offenses lately committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing tants this Makdowald uttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to governe a sort of idle moonks in some cloister, than to have the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He used also such subtill persuasions and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten together a mightie power of men: for out of the westernne Isles there came unto him a great multitude of people, offering themselves to assist him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Kernes and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serve under him, whither it should please him to lead them.

‘Makdowald thus having a mightie puissance about him, incoun-tered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force tooke their capteine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off his head. This overthrow being notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a councell, he asked of them their best advise for the subduing of Makdowald & other the rebels. Here, in sundrie heads (as ever it happeneth) werę sundrie opinions, which they uttered according to everie man his skill. At length Makbeth speaking much against the kings softnes, and overmuch slacknesse in punishing offenders, whereby they had such time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding, if the charge were committed unto him and unto Banquho, so to order the matter, that the rebels should be shortly vanquished &

quite put downe, and that not so much as one of them should be found to make resistance within the countrie.

‘And even so it came to passe : for being sent foorth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his coming put the enimies in such feare, that a great number of them stale secretlie awaie from their capteine Makdowald, who neverthesse inforced thereto, gave battell unto Makbeth, with the residue which remained with him : but being overcome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell (within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer against his enimies, nor yet upon surrender to be suffered to depart with life saved, hee first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yeelded simplie, he should have beene executed in most cruell wise for an example to other. Makbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasse of Macdowald lieng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set upon a poles end, and so sent it as a present to the king who as then laie at Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to bee hoong up upon an high paire of gallowes.

‘Them of the westerne Isles suing for pardon, in that they had aided Makdowald in his tratorous enterprise, he fined at great sums of moneie : and those whome he tooke in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beare armor against the king, he put to execution. Herupon the Ilandmen conceived a deadlie grudge towards him, calling him a covenant-breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murtherer of them whome the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Makbeth being kindled in wrathful ire against them, had passed over with an armie into the Isles, to have taken revenge upon them for their liberall talke, had he not • beene otherwise persuaded by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented unto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, seeking to avoid his displeasure. Thus was justice and law re-

stored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth.'

### The Norweyan Invasion

'Immediatelie whereupon woord came that Sweno, King of Norway, was arrived in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the whole realme of Scotland. . . .

' . . . now touching the arrival of Sweno, the Norwegian king, in Fife. . . . The crueltie of this Sweno was such that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degree soever they were. Whereof when K. Duncane was certified, he set all slouthfull and lingering delaies apart, and began to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a verie valiant capteine : for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constreined by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and active. Therefore when his whole power was come together, he divided the same into three battels. The first was led by Makbeth, the second by Banquho, & the king himselfe governed in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait upon his person the most part of all the residue of the Scottish nobilitie.

'The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered, came unto Culros, where incountering with the enimies, after a sore and cruell foughten battell, Sweno remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by this battell, that they were not able to make long chase on their enimies, but kept themselves all night in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assembling together againe might have set upon them at some advantage. On the morrow, when the fields were discovered, and it was perceived how no enimies were to be found abroad, they gathered the spoile, which they divided amongst them, according to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by commandement of Sweno, that no souldier should hurt either man, woman, or child, except such as were found with weapon in hand readie to make resistance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme without further bloudshed.



‘But when knowledge was given how Duncane was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withstand the incursions of the Danes, Sweno raised his tents & comming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round about it.’

### ‘The Insane Root’

‘Duncane seeing himselfe thus environed by his enimies, sent a secret message by counsell of Banquho to Makbeth, commanding him to abide at Inchcuthill, till he heard from him some other newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained communication with Sweno, as though he would have yeelded up the castell into his hands, under certeine conditions, and this did he to drive time, and to put his enimies out of all suspicion of anie enterprise ment against them, till all things were brought to pass that might serve for the purpose. At length, when they were fallen at a point for rendring up the hold, Duncane offered to send foorth of the castell into the campe greate provision of vittels to refresh the armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the Danes, for that they had beene in great penurie of sustenance manie daies before.

‘The Scots heereupon tooke the juice of mekilwoort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great abundance unto their enimies. They rejoising that they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such greedie wise, that it seemed they strove who might devoure and swallow up most, till the operation of the berries spread in such sort through all the parts of their bodies that they were in the end brought into a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible to awake them. Then foorthwith Duncane sent unto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and set upon the enimies, being in easie point to be overcome. Makbeth making no delaie, came with his people to the place where his enimies were lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards entered the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides without anie resistance that it was a woonderful matter

to behold, for the Danes were so heavie of sleepe that the most of them were slaine and never stirred: other that were awakened either by the noise or other waies foorth, were so amazed and dizzie headed upon their wakening, that they were not able to make anie defense: so that of the whole number there escaped no more but onelie Sweno himselve and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

'The most part of the mariners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent unto the campe, came from the sea thither to be partakers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sweno perceived how through lacke of mariners he should not be able to conveie awaie his navie, he furnished one ship throughlie with such as were left, and in the same sailed backe into Norwaie, cursing the time that he set forward on this infortunate journie. The other ships which he left behind him, within three days after his departure from thence, were tossed so together by violence of an east wind, that beating and rushing one against another, they sunke there, and lie in the same place even unto these daies, to the great danger of other such ships as come on that coast: for being covered with the floud when the tide commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some part of them appeere above water.

'The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost, is yet called Drownelow sands. This overthrow received in a manner afore said by Sweno, was verie displeasing to him and his people, as should appeere, in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no knights were made in Norwaie, except they were first sworn to revenge the slaughter of their countriemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The Scots having woone so notable a victorie, after they had gathered & divided the spoile of the field, caused solemne processions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be given to almightie God, that had sent them so faire a day over their enimies.'

### The Disbursement at St. Colmes Inch

‘But whilest the people were thus at their processions, woord was brought that a new fleet of Danes was arrived at Kingcorne, sent thither by Canute king of England, in revenge of his brother Swenos overthrow. To resist these enimies, which were alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie; Makbeth and Banquho were sent with the kings authoritie, who having with them a convenient power, incountred the enimies, slue part of them, and chased the other to their ships. They that escaped and got once to their ships, obtained of Makbeth for a great summe of gold, that such of their friends as were slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old sepultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene graven with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burieng noble men still is, and heere-tofore hath beene used.

‘A peace was also concluded at the same time betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some have written) in this wise: That from thenceforth the Danes should never come into Scotland to make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner of meanes. And these were the warres that Duncane had with forren enimies in the seventh yeere of his reigne.’ (pp. 119-120.)

### The Witches’ Prophecy and Duncan’s Death according to Bece

*‘Of the Weirdis gevin to Makbeth and Banquho. How Makbeith was maid Thane of Cawder; & how he slew King Duncane, to make himself king.*

‘Nocht lang eftir hapnit ane uncouth and wounderfull thing, be which followit, sone, ane gret alteration in the realme. Be aventure, Makbeth and Banquho wer passand to Fores, quhair King Duncane hapnit to be for the time, and met be the gait thre women clothit in elrage and uncouth weed. Thay wer jugit, be the pepill, to be weird sisteris. The first of thaim said to Makbeth, “Hale, Thane of Glamis!” the second said, “Hale, Thane

of Cawder!" and the third said, "Hale, King of Scotland!" Than said Banquho, "Quwhat wemen be ye, sa unmercifull to me, and sa favorabil to my companyeon, for ye gaif to him nocht onlie land is and gret rentis, bot gret hord schippis and kingdomes; and gevis me nocht." To this answerit the first of their weird sisteris, "We schaw more felicite appering to the than to him; for thought he happin to be ane king his empire sall end unhappilie, and nane of his blude sall eftir him succed; be contrar, thow sall nevir be king, bot of the sal cum mony kingis, quhilkis, with lang progressioun, sall reiose the crown of Scotland." Als sone as thir wourdis wer said, thay suddanlie evanist out of sicht. This prophecy and divinatioun wes haldin mony dayis in derision to Banquho and Makbeth for sum time, Banquho wald call Makbeth, King of Scottis, for derisioun; and he on the samin maner, wald call Banquho, the fader of mony kingis. Yit, becaus al thingis succedit as thir wemen devinit, the pepill traistit and jugit thame to be weird sisteris. Not lang eftir, it hapnit that the Thane of Cawder wes disherist and forfeitit of his landis, for certane crimes of lese majeste; and his landis wer gevin be King Duncane to Makbeth. It hapnit in the nixt nicht, that Banquho and Makbeth wer sportand togiddir at thair supper. Than said Banquho, "Thow hes gottin all that the first two weird sisteris hecht. Restis nocht bot the crown"; and yit he concludit to abide quhil he saw the time ganand thairto, fermelie beleiving that the thrid weird suld cum, as the first two did afore.

'In the mene time King Duncane maid his son Malcome Prince of Cumbir, to signifie that he suld regne eftir him. Quhilk wes gret displeseir to Makbeth: for it maid derogatioun to the thrid weird, promittit afore to him be thir weird sisteris. Nochteles, he thochte, gif Duncane wer slane, he had maist richt to the croun, becaus he wes nerest of blud thair to, be tennour of the auld lawis maid eftir the deith of King Fergus, "Quhen young children wer unabil to govern the croun, the nerrest of thair blude sall regne." Als, the respons of thir weird sisteris put him in beleif, that the thrid weird suld cum als weill as the first two. Attour, his wife,

impacient of lang tary, as all wemen ar, specially quhare thay ar desirus of ony purpos, gaif him gret artation to persew the thrid weird, that scho might be ane quene : calland him, oft timis, febil cowart, and nocht desirus of honouris ; sen he durst not assailye the thing with manheid and curage, quhilk is offerit to him be benivolence of fortoun ; howbeit sindry otheris hes assailyeit sic thingis afore, with maist terribil jeopardyis, quhen they had not sic sickernes to succed in the end of thair laubouris as he had.

‘ Makbeth, be persuasion of his wife, gaderit his freindis to ane counsall at Invernes, quhare King Duncane happinnit to be for the time. And becaus he fand sufficient oportunitie, be support of Banquho and otheris his freindis, he slew King Duncane, the VII yeir of his regne. His body was buryit in Elgin, and efter tane up and brocht to Colmekill, quhare it remanis yit, amang the sepulturis of athir kingis ; fra our redemption, MXLVI yeris.’

‘ Chap. Third, The Twelf Buke, Croniklis of Scotland,’ written in Latin by Hector Boece, translated by John Bellenden. First printed 1536 (and afterwards circa 1541).

### **The Witches’ Prophecy and Duncan’s Death according to Holinshed**

‘ Shortlie after happened a strange and uncouth woonder, which afterward was the cause of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall after heare. It fortunied as Makbeth and Banquho journied towards Fores, where the King then laie, they went sporting by the waie togither without other companie, save onelie themselves, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the midst of a laund, there met them three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world, whome when they attentivelie beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said ; All haile Makbeth, thane of Glammis (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell). The second of them said ; Haile Makbeth, thane of Cawder. But the third said ; All haile Makbeth, that heereafter shalt be King of Scotland.



‘Then Banquho; What maner of women (saith he) are you, that seeme so little favourable unto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices ye assigne also the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them), we promise greater benefits unto thee than unto him, for he shall reigne in deed, but with an unluckie end: neither shall he leave anie issue behind him to succeed in his place, where contrairilie thou in deed shalt not reigne at all, but of thee those shall be borne which shall govern the Scottish Kingdome by long order of continuall descent. Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantastick illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, inso-much that Banquho would call Mackbeth in jest king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him, in sport likewise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was that these women were either the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromanticall science, bicause everie thing came to passe as they had spoken. For shortlie after, the thane of Cawder being condemned at Fores of treason against the king committed; his lands, livings, and offices were given of the king’s liberalitie to Mackbeth.

‘The same night after, at supper, Banquho jested with him and said; Now Mackbeth thou hast obtained those things which the two former sisters prophesied, there remaineth onelie for thee to purchase that which the third said should come to passe. Whereupon Mackbeth revolving the thing in his mind, began even then to devise how he might attaine to the kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he must tarie a time, which should advance him thereto (by the divine providence) as it had come to passe in his former preferment. But shortlie after it chanced that king Duncane, having two sonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them called Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were thereby to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his

deceasse. Mackbeth sore troubled herewith, for that he saw by this means his hope sore hindered (where, by the old lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should succeed were not of able age to take the charge upon himselfe, he that was next of bloud unto him should be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might usurpe the kingdome by force, having a just quarell so to doo (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of title and claime, which he might in time to come, pretend unto the crowne.

‘The woords of the three weird sisters also (of whom before ye have heard) greatlie encouraged him hereunto, but speciallie his wife lay sore upon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious, burning in unquenchable desire to beare the name of a queene. At length therefore, communicating his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst whome Banquho was the chiefest, upon confidence of their promised aid, he slue the king at Enverns, or (as some say) at Botgosuane, in the sixt yeare of his reigne. Then having a companie about him of such as he had made privie to his enterprise, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed king, and foorthwith went unto Scone, where (by common consent) he received the investure of the kingdome according to the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was first conveied unto Elgine, & there buried in kinglie wise; but afterwards it was removed and conveied unto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour, 1046.

‘Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the sons of king Duncane, for feare of their lives (which they might well know that Mackbeth would seeke to bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme remained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of Etheldred recovered the dominion of England from the Danish power, the which Edward received Malcolme by way of most friendlie enterteinment: but Donald passed over into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land. Mackbeth, after the departure thus of Duncanes

sonnes, used great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme, thereby to win their favour, and when he saw that no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole intention to mainteine justice, and to punish all enormities and abuses, which had chanced through the feeble and slouthfull administration of Duncane.' (pp. 169-171.)

### Witches' Mischief

'Duffe the Sonne of K. Malcolme was crowned K. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Culene the Sonne of K. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie thereupon the king transported over into the Westerne Iles, to set an order there for certeine misdemeanors used by divers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arrival amongst them he called the thanes of the Iles afore him, commanding streightlie as they would avoid his displeasure, to purge their countries of such malefactors whereby the husbandmen and other commons might live in quiet, without vexation of such baretors and idle persons as sought to live onlie upon other mens goods.

'The thanes upon this charge given them by the king, toke no small number of the offenders, partlie by publike authoritie, & partlie by lieng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them over into Ireland, either else to learne some manuell occupation wherewith to get their living, yea though they were never so great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their lineage, were much offended therewith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constrained to get their living with the labor of their hands, which onlie appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base degree as were borne to travell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serve at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such

sort to be made in maner equall with them in state & condition of life.

‘Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongst themselves, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme having no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an utter enimie thereof, so that he was unworthie to have the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, unles he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did spread. . . .

‘In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so greevous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceive what to make of it. For there was seene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaie and consumption (so as there remained unneth \* anie thing upon him save skin and bone).

‘And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such livelines of looks, that more was not to be wished for; he had also a temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by any provocations that could be devised, but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restrained. The physicians perceiving all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into forreigne parts, who happilie being inured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much thervnto.’

‘Howbeit the king, though he had small hope of recoverie, yet had he still a diligent care unto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, devising oft with his councill about the same. But when it was understood into what a perillous sick-

\* Scarcely.

nesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the cheifest were those of Murrey land, who staieng sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be advertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes with trouble of mind about the same. But about the present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murreyland, called Fores.

‘Whereupon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send foorthwith certeine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their jornie, were received in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings use. Unto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their comming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

‘The souldiers, which laie there in garrison had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yoong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner used by hir mother & other hir companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier having learned this of his lemman, told the same to his fellowes, who made report to Donwald, and hee shewed it to the kings messengers, and therwith sent for the yoong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir upon streict examination to confesse the whole matter as she had seene and knew. Whereupon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought



there mischievous mysterie, he sent foorth souldiers, about the middest of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches roosting upon a wodden broch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and devised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the divell: an other of them sat reciting certeine words of inchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie busilie.

‘The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, tooke them together with the image, and led them into the castell, where being strictly examined for what purpose they went about such manner of inchantment, they answered, to the end to make away the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake foorth in sweat. And as for the words of inchantment, they served to keepe him still waking from sleepe, so that as the wax ever melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should have come to passe, that when the wax was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by evill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrey land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, streightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserved) to bee burnt to death.

‘It was said that the king, at the verie same time that these things were a dooing within the castell of Fores, was delivered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking foorth upon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to doo anie maner of thing that lay in man to doo, as though he had not beene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoever it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murrey land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Rosse, and from Rosse into Cathnesse, where apprehending them, he brought them backe unto Fores, and there caused them to be hanged up, on gallows and gibets.’

### How it led to Murder

‘Amongst them there were also certeine yoong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being neere of kin unto Donwald capteine of the castell, and had beene persuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diverse wicked persons, than of their owne accord ; whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to have begged their pardon ; but having a plaine deniall, he conceived such an inward malice towards the king, (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in revenge of such unthankfulnesse, hee found meanes to murther the king within the foresaid castell of Fores where he used to sojourne. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, having a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he never suspected.

‘But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his lineage had susteined by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great grieve at home amongst his familie : which his wife perceiving, ceased not to travell with him, till she understood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes used to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.’

### How the Murder was done

‘Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir advise in the execution of so

heinous an act. Wherupon devising with himselfe for a while, which way hee might best accomplish his curssed intent, at length he gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king upon the daie before he purposed to depart foorth of the castell, was long in his oratorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming foorth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie served him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giving them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had beene ever accounted a most faithfull servant to the king.

‘At length, having talked with them a long time, he got him into his privie chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who having brought him to bed, came foorth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diverse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they sate up so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might have remooved the chamber over them, sooner than to have awaked them out of their droonken sleepe.

‘Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in his heart, yet through instigation of his wife, hee called foure of his servants unto him (whome he had made privie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring unto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & speedilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie busking\* at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried foorth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it upon an horsse there provided readie for that purpose, they convey it unto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staid, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne

\* Bustling.

the course of a little river running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the chanell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it up with stones and gravell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceive that anie thing had beene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by bleeding (when Donwald should be present (declare him to be guiltie of the murther. For such an opinion men have, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantlie if the murtherer be present. But for what consideration soever they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the work, but that they slue them whose helpe they used herein, and streightwaies thereupon fled into Orknie.

'Donwald, about the time that the murther was in dooing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night.'

### The 'Undivulged Pretence of Treasonous Malice'

'But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conveyed away, and the bed all beraied with blood; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he foorthwith slue the chamberleins, as guiltie of that heinous murther, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked everie corner within the castell, as though it had beene to have seene if he might have found either the bodie, or anie of the murtherers hid in anie privie place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberleins, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they having the keies of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable murther.

‘Finallie, such was his over earnest diligence in the severe inquisition and triall of the offenders heerein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell forth shrewd tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where hee had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie together, they doubted to utter what they thought, till time and place should better serve thereunto, and heereupon got them awaie everie man to his home.’

### Abnormal Nature

‘For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie covered with continuall clouds, and sometimes suche outrageous windes arose with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

‘Monstrous sights also that were seene within the Scottish kingdome that yeere were these, horsses in Louthian being of singular beautie and swiftness did eate their owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought forth a child without eies, nose, hand, or foot. There was a sparhawke also strangled by an owle.

‘Neither was it anie lesse woonder that the sunne, as before is said, was continuallie covered with clouds for six moneths space. But all men understood that the abhominable murder of King Duffe was the cause heereof, which being revenged by the death of the authors, in maner as before is said; Culene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same Duffe at Scone, with all due honor & solemnitie, in the yeere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure yeeres.’ (pp. 149-152.)



**Another Witch Prophecy**

'K. Natholocus, whose cruelty had caused the people to rebel, desirous to understand somewhat of the issue of this trouble sent one of his trustie servants, being a gentleman of that country, unto a woman that dwelt in the Isle of Colmekill (otherwise called Iona) esteemed verie skilfull in the shewing of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which was alreadie begun.

'The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortlie to passe, that the king should be murthered, not by his open enimes, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especial trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be? Even by thine, saith she, as it shall be well knownen within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these woords, railed against hir verie bitterlie, bidding hir go for a bad witch; for he trusted to see her brent before he should eommit so villanous a deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to signifie what answer he had received; but before he came where the king lay, his minde was altered . . . and so coming to the king, he was led aside by him into his privie chamber, where all other being commanded to avoid, he declared how he had sped; and then falling foorthwith upon Natholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright . . . fled with all speed into the camp of the conspirators, and was the first that brought news unto them of this act thus by him atchived.' (p. 66.)

**Macbeth's Remorse. 'Methought I Heard a Voice'**

' . . . The blind love [K. Kenneth] bare to his owne issue caused him to procure a detestable fact in making away one of his nearest kinsmen. This was Malcolme the sonne of King Diffe, created in the beginning of Kenneth's reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason whereof he ought to have succeeded in rule of the kingdom after Kenneth's death. Whereat the same

Kenneth greiving not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inioieng the crowne, found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians understanding by such evident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no suspicion at all was conceived that it should be his deed.

‘The cloked love also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement given by him upon the first newes of his death, that his funeral should be celebrated in every church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed for him, in all places where anie mention chanced to be made of the losse which the realme had sustained by the death of so worthie a prince, made men nothing mistrustful of the matter, till at length some of the nobles perceiving the outward sorrow (which he made) to passe the true grieve of the heart, began to gather some suspicion, that all was not well: but yet bicause no certeintie appeared, they kept their thoughts to themselves. . . .

‘. . . King Kenneth supposed the kingdom to be fullie assured unto him and his posteritie, and thereupon indevoreth himselfe to win the harts of the people with upright administration of justice, and the favour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them. . . . Thus might he seeme happie to all men, having the love both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most unhappie as he that could not but still live in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, have ever an unquiet mind. And (as the fame goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering unto him these or the like woords in effect: “Think, not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contrived, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterpris by traitorous meanes to doo that to thy neighbour, which t

wouldest have revenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subjects, if it had beene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe that both thou thy selfe and thy issue, through the just vengeance of almightie God, shall suffer woorthie punishment to the infamie of thy house and familie for evermore. For even at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie injoy this kingdome which thou doost indeavour to assure unto thine issue."

'The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eies.'

### Macbeth on the Throne

'Macbeth shewing himselfe a most diligent punisher of all injuries and wrongs attempted by anie disordered persons within his realme, was accounted the sure defense and buckler of innocent people . . . and hereto he also applied his whole indevor, to cause yoong men to exercise themselves in vertuous maners, and men of the church to attend their divine service according to their vocations.

'He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranaverne, and Ros, because through them and their seditious attempts, much trouble dailie rose in the realme. . . . Such were the woorthie dooings and princelie acts of this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had attained thereunto by rightfull means, and continued in uprightness of justice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well have beene numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie where had reigned. He made manie wholesome laws and statutes for the publike weale of his subjects.'

'Lawes made by King Makbeth, *set foorth according to Hector Boetius.*

\* \* \* \* \*

'The tenth part of all fruits that increase on the ground, shall

be given to the Church, that God may be worshipped with ablations and praiera.

\* \* \* \* \*

'He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oath to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the commonaltie. And he that is made king, shall be sworne in semblable maner.

'The eldest daughter shall inherit hir father's lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leave no sonne behinde him.

\* \* \* \* \*

'No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the king's free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

'All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though she have no issue by him) shall yet have the thirde part of his landes after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

'All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other on paine of death, speciallie if their lands and roomes lie neere together.

\* \* \* \* \*

'These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in use, governing the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall justice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the favour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie.

'For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth ever in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by unrighteous means) caused him ever to feare, least he should be served of the same cup as he had ministred to his predecessor.'

### Banquo's Issue

'The wordes also of the three weird sisters would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise

did they promise it at the same time unto the posteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the same Banquho with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had devised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not have his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge upon anie suspicion that might arise.

‘It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reserving him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards having some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedlie\* (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth woould have had it to appeare), but even upon a prepensed devise: whereupon to avoid further perill he fled into Wales.

‘But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to th’ order which I find observed in the Scottish historie) I shall in few woords rehearse the originall line of those kings, which have descended from the foresaid Banquho, that they which have injoied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that even unto these our daies, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning.

‘Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortlie after by his courteous and amiable behaviour he grew into such favor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might unneath have wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtesie in the end suffered him to get hir with child; which being once understood, hir father conceived such hatefull displeasure towards Fleance, that he finallie slue

\* Manslaughter, killing a man without forethought.



him. . . . At the last yet she was delivered of a sonne named Walter who within few yeares prooved a man of greater courage & valiancie, than anie other had commonlie beene found, although he had no better bringing up than (by his grand-fathers appointment) among the baser sort of people. Howbeit, he showed ever even from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certeine stoutnesse of stomach, readie to attempt high enterprises.

‘It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie tawnting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch objected that he was a bastard, and begotten in unlawfull bed; wherewith being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran upon him and slue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to seeke some friendship there, he happened into the companie of such Englishmen, as were come thither with queene Margaret, and behaved himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highlie esteemed amongst them. Not long after by such means atteining to the degree of high reputation, he was sent with a great power of men into the westernne Iles, into Galloway, and other parts of the realme, to deliver the same from the tyrannie and injurious oppression there exercised by divers misgoverned persons; which enterprise according to his commission he atchived, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie upon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receive the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

‘This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfreie of Bullogne duke of Loraine, and Robert duke of Normandie sonne to king William the bastard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other westernne princes made the great journie thither, in the year 1099. Alane had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbeie of Pasleie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whose valiancie was well notified at the battell of Largis, as hereafter shall be shewed, was

the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander fought right valiantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbowtoun, and married the heire of Crukeistoun, from whom descended the earles of Levenox and Dernlie. Moreover, the above mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Paselie, had diverse mo sonnes, as John and James, with sundrie other. Howbeit they tooke new surnames by the name of those lands, unto the which they succeeded. The afore recited John Steward, after the death of his brother James, married the heire of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonkill, Ranfrew, Rothessaie, Bute, and Stewatoun, after that his father the fore-named John was slaine at Falkirke.

‘He married Margerie Bruce, daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whom he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second tooke to wife one Isabell Mure, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to Sir Adham Mure knight, and brought fourth issue, three sonnes and three daughters. The eldest sonne hight John Steward otherwise named Robert, who succeeded immediatlie after his fathers deceasse, in governance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland under the name of governour, for the space of fiftene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot. The eldest daughter was married to James that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Dowglas. The second daughter was married to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the advancement of his further fame earle of Murrey. He begot on hir one onelie daughter, that was married to the Dowglas, and so Dowglas came to the earledome of Murrey. The third daughter was married unto John Lioun, that was after made lord of Glamis.

‘Moreover, the foresaid Robert that was the first of the Stew-

ards which ware the crowne in Scotland, married Ewfame daughter to the earle of Rosse, and got on hir two sonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and David earle of Stratherne. This Walter sollicitied Robert duke of Albanie, to slea David Steward duke of Rothsaie. And after that James the first was returned home foorth of England, hee did what he could to moove him to slea all the lineage of the said duke, still being in hope after the dispatch of his kinsmen to come to the crowne 'himselſe, which hope mooved him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters son, to slea king James the first also, for the which crime the same Walter was after convicted and destroyed with all his sonnes. His brother David earle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the lands of both these brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their bloud. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdo, who married the earle of Lennox daughter, and got on hir three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

‘Duke Murdo himselſe with his two first sonnes were slaine at Striveling by king James the first, and the third brother James in revenge thereof burnt Dumbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he decessed without issue. Robert the third of that name married Annabill Drommond, daughter to sir John Drommond of Strobhall knight, and got on hir David and James. The first died in Falkland, and the other attained the crowne, and was called James the first and married the ladie Jane daughter to John Beauford earle of Summerset in England. He had by hir two sonnes borne at one birth, Alexander and James. The first died yoong, the second attained the crowne, named James the second. James the first had also six daughters, of the which the eldest was given in mariage to the Dolphine of France, the second to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fift to the earle of Huntley, and the sixt had no succession. James the second married Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three sonnes, and two daughters.

'The first succeeded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the second named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and married first the earle of Orkenies daughter, and got on hir Alexander, that was afterward bishop of Murrey, and then parting with hir went into France, where he married the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Steward duke of Albanie, that was governor of Scotland manie yeeres in the minoritie of James the fift. The third sonne, John Steward, was earle of Mar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Cannogat in a bathfat. The first daughter of James the second was married to the lord Boid, who begot on hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Mon-gumrie, and a daughter that was married to the earle of Cassels. After the death of the Lord Boid, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was eftsoones married to the lord Hammilton, and by that means was the house of the Hammiltons honored with the kings bloud. The other sister was married to the lord Creichton, of whom came small succession woorthie to be mentioned. James the third married Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which mariage was born James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews and Duke of Albanie, and John Steward earle of Mar, but these two died without issue.

'James the fourth married Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on hir James the fift, who marieng first the ladie Magdalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yeere next after hir comming into Scotland, and then shortlie after the said James the fift married the ladie Marie de Lorrein, duchesse of Lonuile, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie queene of Scotland, that tooke to husband Henrie Steward lord Dernlie, by whom she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland.'

### **Macbeth turns on Macduff**

'But to returne unto Makbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall understand that after the contrived



slaughter of Banquo, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makbeth: for in maner everie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst unneth appeare in the kings presence; and even as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmized cavillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

‘At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after bloud in this behalfe might in nowise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hee thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his use, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from injurie of them whome he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subjects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stermond, and Ernedale, as it were lieng underneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stufte necessarie to the building could not be brought up without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth being once determined to have the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

‘At the last, when the turne fell unto Makduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull provision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in everie behalfe, that no occasion might bee given for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had doone, which he refused to doo, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partlie understood) no great good will, would laie violent hands upon



him, as he had doon upon diverse other. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said; I perceive this man will never obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall provide well enough for him.'

### The Witches again

'Neither could he afterwards abide to looke upon the said Makduffe, either for that he thought his puissance over great: either else for that he had learned of certaine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three faries or weird sisters had declared unto him) how that he ought to take heed of Makduffe, who in time to come would seeke to destroie him.

'And surelie hereupon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he never should be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie, Makbeth put all fear out of his heart supposing he might do what he would, without anie fear to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleaved it was impossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other impossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to doo manie outrageous things, to the greivous oppression of his subjects.'

### Macduff's Flight. The Massacre at Fife

'At length Makduffe, to avoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie devised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge given him thereof: for kings (as is said) have sharpe sight like unto Lynx, and long ears like unto Midas. For Makbeth had in everie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fee with him, to reveale

all that was said or doone within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

‘Immediatlie then, being advertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and foorth-with besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled, trusting to have found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none evill. But neverthesse Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclamed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Macduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England unto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hee might make by meanes of his support, to revenge the slaughter so cuellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends.’

### **Macduff and Malcolm**

‘At his comming unto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, having committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be delivered of that intollerable and heavie yoke of thraldome, which they susteined at such a caitaifes hands.

‘Malcolme hearing Makduffes woords, which he uttered in verie lamentable sort, for meere compassion and verie ruth that pearsed his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiving, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the delivering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onlie the good tittle he had, but also the

earnest desire of the people to have some occasion ministred, whereby they might be revenged of those notable injuries, which they daillie susteined by the outrageous crueltie of Makbeths misgovernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorrowfull for the oppression of his countriemen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment unfeinedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to have some further triall, and there-upon dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth:

“I am trulie verie sorie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I have never so great affection to relieve the same, yet by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. First, such immoderate lust and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should seeke to defloure young maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperancie should be more importable unto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is.” Heere-unto Makduffe answered: “This suerlie is a verie evill fault, for manie noble princes and kings have lost both lives and kingdoms for the same; neverthelesse there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counsell. Make thy selfe king, and I shall conveie the matter so wiselie, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man shall be aware thereof.”

‘Then said Malcolme, “I am also the most avaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would slea the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by surmized accusations, to the end I might injoy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to show you what mischief may insue on you through mine unsatiable covetousnes, I will rehearse unto you a fable. There was a fox having a sore place on him overset with a swarme of flies, that continuallie sucked out hir bloud: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she would have

the flies driven beside hir, she answered no: for if these flies that are alreadie full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased awaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hungred should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my bloud farre more to my greivance than these, which now being satisfied doo not much annoie me. Therefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I atteine to the regiment of your realme, mine unquenchable avarice may proove such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieve you, should seeme easie in respect of the unmeasurable outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you."

'Makduffe to this made answer, "how it was a far woorse fault than the other: for avarice is the root of all mischief, and for that crime the most part of our kings have beene slaine and brought to their finall end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take upon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches inough in Scotland to satisfie thy greedie desire." Then said Malcolme again, "I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leasings and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie rejoise in nothing so much as to betraie and deceive such as put anie trust or confidence in my woords. Then sith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, truth, and justice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in soothfastnesse, and that lieng utterlie overthroweth the same; you see how unable I am to governe anie province or region: and therefore sith you have remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I pray you find shift to cloke this vice amongst the residue."

'Then said Makduffe: "This yet is the woorst of all, and there I leave thee, and therefore saie; Oh ye unhappie miserable Scottishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, ech one above other! Ye have one curssed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth over you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie. This other

that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behaviour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing woorthie to injoy it: for it is by his owne confession he is not onelie avaritious, and given to unsatiabie lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had unto anie woord he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for ever, without comfort or consolation:" and with those words the brackish teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantlie.

'At last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the sleeve, and said: "Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I have none of these vices before remembred, but have jested with thee in this manner, onelie to proove thy mind: for diverse times heeretofore hath Makbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more slow I have shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I use in accomplishing the same." Incontinentlie heereupon they imbraced ech other, and promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best provide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect. Soone after, Makduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his letters with secret dispatch unto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hastilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recover the same out of the hands of the wrongfull usurper.

'In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such favor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thousand men with him to go into Scotland, to support him in this enterprize, for recoverie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two severall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Heereupon insued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, and diverse light skirmishings: for those that



were of Malcolmes side, would not jeopard to joine with their enimies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their support.' (pp. 172-176.)

### King's Cures

'During the abod of these two kings at Yorke [King William and King John] there was brought unto him a child of singular beutie, sonne and heire of a gentleman of great possessions in those parties, being sore vexed with diverse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eies was consumed and lost through an issue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors; the one of his hands was dried up; the one of his feet was so taken that he had no use thereof; and his tongue likewise that he could not speake. The physicians that saw him . . . judged him incurable. Nevertheless, king William, making a crosse on him, restored him immediatlie to health.' (p. 193.)

### Birnam Wood comes to Dunsinane. Macbeth Slain

'But after that Makbeth perceived his enimies power to increase, by such aid as came to them foorth of England with his adversarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunsinane, and to fight with his enemies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends advised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Iles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, and reteine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subjects, which stale dailie from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleeved he should never be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunsinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was borne of anie woman.

'Malcolme following hastilie after Makbeth, came the night

before the battell unto Birnane wood: and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded everie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march foorth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimies. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first marvelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the coming of Birnane wood to Dunsinane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Nevertheless, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doo valiantlie, howbeit his enimies had scarselie cast from them their boughs, when Makbeth perceiving their numbers, betooke him streict to flight, whome Makduffe pursued with great hatred, even till he came unto Lunfannaine, where Makbeth perceiving that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horsse, saieng: "Thou traitor, what meaneth it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receive thy reward which thou hast deserved for thy paines," and therewithall he lifted up his sword thinking to have slaine him.

'But Makduffe quicklie avoiding from his horsse, yer he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saieng: "It is true Makbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie have an end, for I am even he that thy wizzards have told thee of, who was never born of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe:" therewithall he stept unto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders he set it upon a pole, and brought it unto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeeres over the Scottishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the commonwealth (as ye have heard) but afterward by illusion of the divell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yeere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yeere of king Edwards reign over the Englishmen.' (p. 176.)

### Seyton

‘Manie new surnames were taken up at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seiton. . . . Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Men-teth, Atholl, Levenox, Murrey, Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus. These were the first earles that have beene heard of amongst the Scottishmen.’ (p. 176.)

### The Siwards

‘Siward earle of Northumberland with a great power of horsemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth. . . . It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof, although the father had good cause to be sorrowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had received in fighting stoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatly rejoised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine; and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he received the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he received it in the forepart; “I rejoise (saith he) even with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to myselfe anie other kind of death.”’ (‘The Eight Booke of the Historie of England,’ ‘The fifth Chapter.’)

### ‘In Thunder, Lightning, or in Raine’

‘Such faithlesse people . . . are also persuaded, that neither haile nor snowe, thunder nor lightning, raine nor tempestuous winds

come from the heavens at the commandement of God : but are raised by the cunning and power of witches.’

From ‘The discoverie of witchcraft, Wherein the lewde dealing of witches and witchmongers is notablie detected &c.’ By Reginald Scot. Edition of 1584.

‘ I come, Graymalkin ! Paddock Calls ’

‘ Som saie they can transubstantiate themselves and others, and take the forms and shapes of asses, woolves, . . . dogs &c. Some say they can keepe divells and spirits in the likenesse of todes and cats.

‘ They can raise spirits . . . inhibit the sunne, and staie both, daie and nights changing the one into the other. They can go in and out of awger holes, & saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscle shell, through and under the tempestuous seas.’ (p. 5.)

‘ What are these, so withered ’

‘ One sort of such are said to bee witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles : poore, sullen, . . . such as knowe no religion : in whose drousie minds the divell hath gotten a fine seat ; so as, what mischiefe, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easilie persuaded the same is doone by themselves ; . . . so firme and steadfast in their opinions, as whoever shall onelie have respect to the constancie of their words uttered, would easilie beleieve they were true indeed.’ (p. 7.)

‘ Hecate ! you look angrily ’

‘ It may not be omitted that certeine wicked women following Sathans provocations . . . beleieve and professe that in the night times they ride abroad with Diana, the goddessse of the Pagans, or else with Herodias . . . and do whatever these fairies or ladies command.’ (p. 66.)

'Although it be quite against the haire, and contrarie to the diuels will, contrarie to the witches oth, promise, and homage, and contrarie to all reason, that witches should helpe anie thing that is bewitched; but rather set forward their masters businesse: yet we read *In Malleo Maleficarum*, of three sorts of witches; affirmed by all the writers hereupon. . . . One can hurt & not helpe, the second can helpe and not hurt, the third can both helpe and hurt. And among the hurtfull witches, he saith there is one sort more beastlie than any kind of beastes, saving woolves: These be they (saith he) that raise haile, tempests, and hurtfull weather; as lightening, thunder &c. . . . These can passe from place to place in the aire invisible. . . . These can bring trembling to the hands, and strike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. These can manifest unto others things hidden and lost, and foreshew things to come; and see them as though they were present. These can alter mens minds.' (pp. 9-10.)

### 'The Ingredients of our Cauldron'

'The toies which are said to procure love & are exhibited in their poison looving cups, are these: . . . the braine of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizard: the bone of a greene frog . . . ' (p. 124.)

'So as, if there be anie children unbaptised, or not garded with the Signe of the Crosse, or orizons; then the witches may and doo catch them from their mothers sides in the night or out of their cradles, or otherwise kill them with their ceremonies; and after buriall steale them out of their graves, and seeth them in a caldron, untill their flesh be made potable.' (p. 41.)

### 'Witchcraft Celebrates Pale Hecate's Offerings'

'The doings of Medea . . . doo give to understand  
That nothing is so hard but payne and travell doo it win  
For fortune ever favoreth such as boldly doo begin:



That women both in helping and in hurting have no match  
When they too eyther bend their wits.'

Prefixed by Golding to his Ovid. 'The XV Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis, translated oute of Latine into English meeter by Arthur Golding Gentleman. A Worke very pleasaunt and delectable.'

'With skill, heede, and judgment, this worke must be read,  
For else to the Reader it standes in small stead.'

'1567. Imprynted at London, by Willyam Seres.'

'She went me to an Altar that was dedicate of olde  
To Persys daughter Hecate (of whome the witches holde  
As of their Goddesse) standing in a thicke and secrete wood

But I will put in prooffe  
A greater gift than you require and more for your behoofe

So our three formed Goddesse graunt with present helpe to stand  
A furthrer of the great attempt the which I take in hand.

Before the Moone should circlewise close both hir hornes in one,  
Three nightes were yet as then to come. Assoone as that she shone  
Most full of light, and did behold the earth with fulsome face,  
Medea, with hir hair not trust so much as in a lace,  
But flaring on her shoulders twaine, and barefoote, with hir gowne  
Ungirded, gate hir out of doores and wandred up and downe  
Alone the dead time of the night. both Man, and Beast, and Bird  
Were fast asleepe: the Serpents flie in trayling forward stird  
So softly as ye would have thought they still asleepe had bene.  
The Moysting Ayre was whist, no leafe ye could have moving sene.  
The starres alonly faire and bright did in the welkin shine,  
To which she lifting up hir handes did thrice herself encline:  
And thrice with water of the brooke hir haire besprinckled shee:  
And gasping thrice she opte hir mouth: and bowing downe hir knee  
Upon the bare hard ground, she said: O trustie time of night  
Most faithful unto privities, O golden starres whose light  
Doth jointly with the Moone succede the beames that blaze by day,  
And thou, three-headed Hecate, who knowest best the way  
To compass this our great attempt, and a t our chieftest stay:

Ye Charmes & Witchcrafts, & thou Earth which both with herbe & weed  
 Of mightie working furnishest the Wizardes at their neede:  
 Ye Ayres & Windes: ye Elves of Hilles, of Brookes, of Woods alone,  
 Of standing Lakes, and of the Night approche ye everychone  
 Through helpe of whom (the crooked bankes much wondring at the thing)  
 I have compelled streames to run cleane backward to their spring:  
 By charmes I make the calme Seas rough, & make the rough Seas plaine,  
 And cover all the Skie with Cloudes, and chase them thence againe.  
 By charmes I raise and lay the windes, and burst the Vipers Jaw,  
 And from the bowells of the Earth both stones and trees doe draw.  
 Whole woods and Forests I remove: I make the Mountaines shake,  
 And even the Earth it selfe to grone and fearfully to quake.  
 I call up dead men from their graves: and thee, O lightsome Moone,  
 I darken oft, though beaten brasse abate thy perill soone.  
 Our Sorcerie dimmes the Morning faire, and darkes the Sun at Noone,

Now have I need of herbes. . . .  
 Such herbes of them as liked hir she pulde up roote & rinde,  
 Or crompt them with a hooked knife, and many she did finde.

A certaine kind of lively grasse she gathered with hir handes,  
 The name thereof was scarsly knowen or what the herbe could doe,  
 Untill that Glaucus afterward was changed thereunto.  
 Nine days with winged Dragons drawen, nine nights in Chariot swift  
 She searching everie field and frith from place to place did shift.

She would none other house than heaven to hide hir head as tho:  
 But kept hir still without the doores: and as for man was none  
 That once might touch hir. Altars twayne of Turfe she builded: one  
 Upon hir left hand unto Youth, another on the right  
 To Hecat. Both the which as soon as she had dight  
 With Vervain and with other shrubbes that on the fieldes doe rise,  
 Not farre from thence she digde two pits: and making sacrifice,  
 Did cut a couple of blacke Rams throtes and filled with their blood  
 The open pit, on which she pourde of warme milke, pure and good,  
 A boll full, and another boll of honie clarifide.

And babling to hir selfe therewith . . . .  
 . . . with mumbling long . . . .  
 Before the altars. . . .

She willed Jason thence a great way off to go  
 And likewise all the Ministers that served hir as tho;

And not presume those Secretes with unhallowed eyes to see.  
 They did as she commanded them. When all were voyded, shee  
 With scattred haire about hir eares, like one of Bacchus froes,  
 Devoutly by and by about the burning Altars goes;  
 And dipping in the pits of bloud a sord of clifted brandes,  
 Upon the Altars kindled them that were on bothe hir handes.  
 And thrice with brimstone, thrice with fire, and thrice with water pure  
 She purged Aesons aged corse that slept and slumbered sure.

The medicine seething all the while a wallop in the pan  
 Of brasse, to spirt and leape aloft and gather froth began.  
 There boyled she the rootes, seedes, flowres, leaves, stalkes & juice together,  
 Which from the fieldes of Thessalie she late had gathered thither.  
 She cast in also precious stones fetcht from the furthest East,  
 And which the ebbing Ocean washt fine gravell from the West.  
 She put thereto the dew that fell upon a Monday night :  
 And flesh and feathers of a Witch, a cursed odious wight  
 Which in the likenesse of an Owle abrode a nightes did flie,  
 And Infants in their cradel chaunge or suck them that they die.  
 The singles also of a Wolf which when he list could take  
 The shape of man, and when he list the same againe forsake.  
 And from the river Cynphis which is in Lybie lande  
 She had the fine sheere scaled filmes of water snayles at hand.  
 And of an endlesse lived heart the liver had she got,  
 To which she added of a Crowe that then had lived not  
 So little as nine hundred yeares the head and Bill also.

Now when Medea had with these and with a thousand mo  
 Such other kinde of namelesse things bestead her purpose through  
 For lengthening of the old mans life, she tooke a withered bough  
 Cut lately from an Olyf tree, and tumbling all together,  
 Did raise the bottome to the brim ; and as she stirred hither  
 And thither with the withered sticke, behold, it waxed greene.  
 Anon the leaves came budding out : and sodenly were seene  
 As many berries dangling downe as well the bough could beare ;  
 And where the fire had from the pan the scumming cast, or where  
 The scalding drops did fall, the ground did spring-like florish there,  
 And flowers with fodder fine and soft immediately arose.’

## PART VIII. LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS

### Canidia's Witchcraft, from Horace. 'Satire VIII.'

'I MYSELF saw Canidia stalking along with her sable robe tucked up, naked were her feet, dishevelled her hair, she howled in company with the elder Sagana: their ghastly color made them both horrible to look on. Then they began to scrape the earth with their nails, and to tear with their teeth a black lamb; the blood was all poured into a trench, that from it they might entice the spirits of the dead, the souls that were to give responses. There was an image of wool there with another of wax; the larger was that of wool; it was to punish the smaller form; for the waxen one seemed as in suppliant guise, just about to perish as by a slave's death. One of the witches calls upon Hecate, the other on fierce Tisiphone; then might you see serpents and hell-hounds roaming about, and the moon blushing and hiding herself behind the tall sepulchres, that she might not witness such deeds. Why need I describe the details? how the ghosts, in converse with Sagana, made the place echo to their sad, shrill cries, and how they buried in the ground the beard of a wolf, with the teeth of a spotted snake, and how the fire blazed more freely, fed by the effigy of wax, and how I shuddered at the words and deeds of the two witches. I, a witness, but not unavenged, for as loud as the noise of a bursting bladder was the crack of my fig wood; off ran the two into the city.'

### The Moving Wood

'THE VALIAUNT COURAGE AND POLICIE OF THE KENTISHMEN WITH LONG TAYLES, WHERBY THEY KEPT THEIR ANCIENT LAWES AND CUSTOMES WHICH WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR SO GHT TO TAKE FROM THEM.' (To the tune of 'Rogers.')

- ‘ When as the Duke of Normandy  
with glistering speare and shield  
Had entred into fayre England  
and foiled his foes in felde.
- ‘ Upon Christmas Day in solemne sort  
then was he crowned here  
By Albert Archbishop of Yorke  
with many a noble peere.
- ‘ Which being done, he changed quite  
the custome of this land  
And punisht such as daily sought  
his statutes to withstand.
- ‘ And many cities he subdude  
faire London with the rest  
But Kent did still withstand his force  
which did his lawes detest.
- ‘ To Dover then he took his way  
The Castle downe to fling,  
Which Averagus builded there  
the noble Britaine King.
- ‘ Which when the brave Archbishop bold  
of Canterburie knew  
The Abbot of St Austine’s eke  
with all their gallant crue
- ‘ They set themselves in armour bright  
these mischiefes to prevent  
With all the yeomen brave and bold  
that were in fruitful Kent.
- ‘ At Canterbury they did meet  
upon a certaine day  
With sword and shield, with bill and bow  
to stop the Conqueror’s way.
- ‘ “ Let us not live like bondmen poor  
to Frenchmen in their pride  
But keep our ancient libertie  
What chaunce so e’er betide
- ‘ “ And rather die in bloudie felde  
in manlike courage prest  
Then to endure the servile yoake  
which we thus much detest ! ”



- ' Thus did the Kentish commons crie  
unto their leaders still  
And so marched forth in warlike sort,  
and stood at Swanseahill.
- ' Where in the woodes they hid themselves  
under the shadow green  
Thereby to get them vantage good  
of all their foes unseene.
- ' And for the conquerors coming there  
they privily laide waight  
And thereby sodainely appald  
his lofty high conceipt
- ' For when they spied his approch  
in place where they did stand  
Then marched forth they to hem him in  
each man with bough in hand.
- ' So that unto the Conqueror's sight  
amazed as he stood  
They seemed to be a walking grove  
or els a mooving wood.
- ' The shape of men he could not see  
the boughs did hide them so,  
And how his heart did quake for fear  
to see a forest goe !
- ' Before, behind, and on each side,  
as he did caste his eye  
He spide these woods with sober pace  
approch to him full nye.
- ' But when the Kentish men had thus  
enclosed the Conqueror round  
Most suddenly they drew their swordes  
and threw the boughs to ground.
- ' Their banners they displaid in sight,  
their trumpets sounde a charge  
Their ratling drummes strike up alarum  
their troopes stretch out at large.
- ' The Conqueror, with all his traine  
were thereat sore aghast  
And most in peril when he thought  
all peril had beene past.

- 'Unto the Kentishmen he sent  
the cause to understand  
For what intent and for what cause  
they took the war in hand?
- 'To whom they made this short repley  
"For Liberty we fight  
And to enjoy King Edward's laws  
The which we hold our right."
- 'Then said the dreadfull Conquerour  
"You shall have what you will,  
Your ancient customs and your lawes  
so that you will be still.
- "And each thing else that you will crave  
with reason at my hand  
So that you will acknowledge me  
Chiefe Kinge of faire England."
- 'The Kentish men agreed hereon  
and laid their arms aside  
And by these means King Edward's laws  
in Kent doth still abide.
- 'And in no place in England else  
those customs doe remain  
Which they by manly policie  
did of Duke William gaine.'

A ballad by Thomas Deloney, 'the Ballading silkweaver,' who began to versify about 1586, and died in 1600, from 'Strange-Histories, or Songes, and Sonnets of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Lordes, Ladyes, Knights and gentlemen, very pleasant either to be read or songe; and a most excellent warning for all estates. Imprinted at London for W. Burbey, and are to be sold at his Shop in Gracious Streete against St Peters Church, 1607.' Such ballads as these, before collection, were printed as broadsides, and circulated all over England. This one is likely to have been read, perhaps sung, by Shakespeare. The men of Kent actually did receive concessions from the Conqueror and made a stand against him at Swanscombe Hill, on the Roman road passing from Dover to Southwark, London.

### A Frankish 'Moving Wood'

'Then the host of Fredegonde marched all through the night,  
and Landris led them, directing their course into a wood. As  
soon as Landris had entered within the wood he hung a bell at

the neck of his horse and took a great branch of a tree all leafy and covered himself therewith as best he could himself and his horse, and said to all the others that they should do the same, and bade them all be silent as best they could and at the morning hour they advanced upon their enemies. . . .

‘As they drew near the enemy one of those who were on guard saw them and regarded them, as best he could for the manner in which they were bedecked, and it seemed to him that it was a wood. He marvelled that it should be so, and came and told it to one of his fellows. I see near us here a wood, and yestereve there was none there. Said he to his comrade: “My fine fellow, thou hast eaten and drunken too much yestereve. Thou art dreaming. Dost thou not remember that we ourselves yestereve turned the horses of our train out to pasture and dost thou not hear now the little bells that are hanging on their necks?” Straightway while he was thus speaking the forest that he had seen dimly appeared openly before them for it threw down the branches and appeared in arms boldly. The scouts cried: “Tricked! Tricked!” The host was sound asleep with the labor that it had had the day before, and they made their way boldly among them. Those who could flee fled, and many among them were killed and taken. So did Fredegonde conquer in the battle.’

### An Arabic ‘Moving Wood’

Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., called attention to the following Arabic version of the ‘Moving Wood’ in *Poet-lore* for May, 1890. It is found in a commentary by a famous Arabic writer, Neshwan el-Himgari, to an old Arabic poem, the ‘Himyaritic Kasîdê.’ Neshwan flourished in the twelfth century, but in the opinion of Dr. Jastrow, as the sources from which he drew his information go back to the generation immediately following upon Mohammed, this Arabic version is in all probability the oldest recorded.

‘In the days of Hassan, there lived a certain Imlik who was appointed as vassal by Himyar over the tribes of Tasm and

Gadîs. By his cruelty, which manifested itself in diverse ways, Imlik aroused the opposition of the Gadîsites. Stirred up by the appeals of one of the noble women in the tribe, Afîra, who had been outraged by Imlik, the Gadîsites decided to make war upon the vassal-chief, who had leagued himself with the Tasmîtes, but lacking the strength and courage for open warfare, they determined, despite the vehement protest of Afîra, to resort to a stratagem. Alaswad Ibn Afar, the brother of Afîra, invited the king and his whole people to a banquet; and at the moment that the festivities were at their height, Alaswad and his band fell upon them unawares. One of the Tasmîtes who escaped the slaughter came to the King of Himyar, who, upon hearing of the heinous offence against the sacred laws of hospitality, determined to exterminate the Gadîsites. Thereupon the Tasmîte gives the king the following warning: "O King! know that among the Gadîsites there is a woman, Zarkâ by name [*i.e.* the 'brilliant one'], who has the power of seeing to a distance of three days' march, and she will certainly warn her people when she sees the approach of thine army." Hassan accordingly ordered each one of his soldiers to take a branch of a tree and conceal himself behind the leaves. In this way they advanced upon the Gadîsites. When Zarkâ, from her watch-tower, beheld them, she called her people together. "What dost thou see?" the Gadîsites inquired. Unable, as yet, to distinguish more than faint outlines, she replied, "I see a man in a position in which he appears to be mending his sandal or trying to eat his shoulder-blade," — a rather curious alternative, it must be confessed. Again her tribe inquired of her what she saw, and this time she answered, "Either Himyar is coming against you, or the forest is moving in this direction." "How can the forest wander?" they mockingly retorted; "hast thou gone mad?" and they did not believe her until Hassan and his army had come close to them, too late to permit them even to fly for refuge. The entire tribe perished. As for Zarkâ, the king, anxious to discover the cause of her wonderful power, had her brought into his presence. She revealed the secret of her sharp vision, which consisted

in rubbing the "Ithmid-stone" to powder and rubbing it over her eyes every night. Thereupon the king ordered her eyes to be torn out, and in confirmation of her words, they found the blood-vessels beneath the pupils entirely blackened by the powder.'

### A Hawaiian 'Moving Wood'

In the story of Hina, the Hawaiian Helen, there is a curious incident which seems to form a connecting link between the widespread legends of 'The Moving Wood' and the wooden horse of Troy. The outline of the story is almost identical with that of the Greek story. Kaupeepee, however, the lover of Hina, resembles in prowess the valiant Hector rather than Paris. The relatives and friends of Hina go on an expedition to rescue her and besiege Haupu, the city of Kaupeepee. The siege of Haupu lasted for several days, and it was finally taken by the following means: The besieging forces constructed a wall of timbers twenty feet in length, firmly corded together and supported by braces; against it the missiles of the besieged fell harmless, and behind it the besiegers worked in safety. Section by section and foot by foot this moving line of timber was advanced. At last, in the middle of a dark and stormy night, the final assault was made. Noiselessly the wooden wall was advanced against the wall of stone. Just at break of day they came together; the besiegers rushed up the braces to the top, hurled from the wall those warriors from within who were trying to defend themselves, poured after them a cataract of spears against which the enemy were powerless, the gates were opened, and soon the upper terrace was cleared and five thousand warriors, led by Niheu (a brother of Hina), were sweeping down to complete their work of slaughter.



## Scenes from Middleton's 'The Witch'

## ACT III. SCENE III

*A Field*

*Enter Hecate, Stadlin, Hoppo, and other witches; Firestone in the background.*

*Hec.* The moon's a gallant; see how brisk she rides!

*Stad.* Here's a rich evening, Hecate.

*Hec.* Ay, is't not, wenches,  
To take a journey of five thousand mile?

*Hop.* Ours will be more to-night.

*Hec.* O 'twill be precious!  
Heard you the owl yet?

*Stad.* Briefly in the copse,  
As we came through now.

*Hec.* 'Tis high time for us then.

Steevens compares 'Macbeth,' I. i. 1-3, with the last four lines and with these lines:—

*Fire.* Hark, hark, the cat sings a brave treble in her own language!

*Hec.* (*going up*) Now I go, now I fly,  
Malkin my sweet spirit and I.

He compares 'Macbeth,' IV. i. 30, with

*Hec.* Here, take this unbaptised brat;  
Boil it well, preserve the fat;

'Macbeth,' IV. i. 65, 66, with

*Hec.* . . . gristle of a man that hangs  
After sunset.

Compare 'Macbeth,' IV. i. 129 with

*Hec.* Come my sweet sisters; let the air strike our tune,  
Whilst we shew reverence to yond peeping moon.

And 'Macbeth,' I. iii. 11-26, and IV. i. 92-94, with

*Hec.* . . . Can you doubt me daughter,  
That can make mountains tremble, miles of woods walk,  
Whole earth's foundation bellow, and the spirits  
Of the entomb'd to burst out from their marbles,  
Nay draw yond moon to my involv'd designs?

'Macbeth,' II. ii. 5, contrast with

*Francisca.* . . . they're now all at rest

And Gaspar there and all: — List! — fast asleepe;  
He *cryes* it *hither*. — I must disease you strait, sir:  
For the maide-servants, and the girles o' the house,  
I spic'd them lately with a drowsie posset.

'Macbeth,' I. iii. 22, may also be compared with

*Hec.* . . . His picture made in wax, and gently molten  
By a blue fire kindled with dead men's eyes,  
Will waste him by degrees.

The song that the spirits sing, III. v., is as follows:—

SONG ABOVE

Come away, come away,  
Hecate, Hecate, come away!

*Hec.* I come, I come, I come, I come,  
With all the speed I may,  
With all the speed I may.

The other song, IV. i. 43, is included in this passage, which is also generally suggestive of the incantation in this act:—

*Enter Stadlin, Hoppo, and other witches.*

*Hec.* Give me Marmaritin, some bear-breech: when?

*Fire.* There's bear-breech, and lizard's brain, forsooth.

*Hec.* Into the vessel;

And fetch three ounces of the red-hair'd girl  
I kill'd last midnight.

*Fire.* Whereabouts, sweet mother?

*Hec.* Hip; hip or flank. Where is the acopus?

*Fire.* You shall have acopus, forsooth.

*Hec.* Stir, stir about, whilst I begin the charm.

Black spirits and white, red spirits and grey,  
Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may.

Titty, Tiffin,  
Keep it stiff in  
Firedrake, Puckey,  
Make it lucky;  
Liard, Robin,  
You must bob in.

Round, around, around, about, about !  
All ill come running in, all good keep out !

*First Witch.* Here's the blood of a bat.

*Hec.* Put in that, O, put in that !

*Sec. Witch.* Here's libbard's-bane.

*Hec.* Put in again !

*First Witch.* The juice of toad, the oil of adder.

*Sec. Witch.* Those will make the younker madder.

*Hec.* Put in — there's all — and rid the stench.

*Fire.* Nay, here's three ounces of the red-hair'd wench.

*All the Witches.* Round, around, around, etc.

*Hec.* So, so, enough : into the vessel with it.

There, 't hath the true perfection. I'm so light

At any mischief ! there's no villainy

But is a tune, methinks.

### Scenes from the 1674 Adaptation of ' Macbeth '

Compare with the original ' Macbeth,' I. ii., the following : —

*Enter King, Malcom, Donalbine and Lenox with attendants meeting Seyton wounded.*

*King.* What aged man is that? if we may guess  
His message by his looks, He can relate the  
Issue of the Battle !

*Malc.* This is the valiant *Seyton*,  
Who like a good and hardy Souldier fought  
To save my liberty. Hail, Worthy Friend,  
Inform the King in what condition you  
Did leave the Battle?

*Seyton.* It was doubtful;  
As two spent swimmers, who together cling  
And choak their Art: the merciless *Macdonwald*  
(Worthy to be a Rebel, to which end  
The multiplying Villanies of Nature  
Swarm'd thick upon him) from the western Isles:  
With Kernes and Gallow-glasses was supply'd,  
Whom Fortune with her smiles oblig'd a-while;  
But brave *Macbeth* (who well deserves that name)  
Did with his frowns put all her smiles to flight:  
And Cut his passage to the Rebels person:  
Then having Conquer'd him with single force,

He fixt his Head upon our Battlements.

*King.* O valiant Cousin! Worthy Gentleman!

*Seyton.* But then this Day-break of our Victory  
Serv'd but to light us into other Dangers  
That spring from whence our hopes did seem to rise;  
Produc'd our hazard: for no sooner had  
The justice of your Cause, Sir, (arm'd with valour,)  
Compell'd these nimble Kernes to trust their Heels,  
But the *Norweyan* Lord, (having expected  
This opportunity) with new supplies  
Began a fresh assault.

*King.* Dismaid not this our Generals, *Macbeth*,  
And Banquo?

*Seyton.* Yes, as sparrows Eagles, or as hares do Lions;  
As flames are heighten'd by access of fuel.  
So did their valours gather strength, by having  
Fresh Foes on whom to exercise their Swords:  
Whose thunder still did drown the dying groans  
Of those they slew, which else had been so great,  
Th' had frighted all the rest into Retreat.  
My spirits faint: I would relate the wounds  
Which their Swords made; but my own silence me.

*King.* So well thy wounds become thee as thy words;  
Th' are full of Honour both: Go get him Surgeons.

[*Exit Cap. and Attendants.*]

*Enter Macduff*

But, who comes there?

*Malc.* Noble *Macduff*!

*Lenox.* What haste looks through his eyes!

*Donal.* So should he look who comes to speak things strange.

*Macd.* Long live the King!

*King.* Whence com'st thou, worthy *Thane*?

*Macd.* From *Fife*, Great King; where the *Norweyan* banners  
Dark'ned the Air; and fann'd our people cold:  
Norwey himself, with infinite supplies,  
(Assisted by that most disloyal *Thane*  
*Of Cawdor*) long maintain'd a dismal Conflict,  
Till brave *Macbeth* oppos'd his bloody rage.  
And check'd his haughty spirit, after which  
His Army fled: Thus shallow streams may flow

Forward with violence a-while; but when  
They are oppos'd, as fast run back agen.  
In brief, the Victory was ours.

*King.* Great Happiness! etc.

Compare with the following, the original I. iii. 79-88, and  
116-151:—

[*Witches vanish.*

Ha! gone! . . .

*Banq.* The earth has Bubbles like the water:  
And these are some of them: how soon they are vanish'd,  
*Macb.* . . . Th'are turn'd to Air; what seem'd corporeal  
Is melted into nothing; would they had staid.  
*Banq.* . . . Were such things here as we discours'd of now?  
Or have we tasted some infectious Herb  
That captivates our Reason?  
*Macb.* Your Children shall be Kings.  
*Banq.* You shall be King.  
*Macb.* And *Thane of Cawdor* too, went it not so?  
*Banq.* Just to that very tune! who's here? etc.

*Macb.* *Glamis* and *Thane of Cawdor*!  
The greatest is behind; my noble Partner!  
Do you not hope your Children shall be Kings?  
When those who gave to me the *Thane of Cawdor*  
Promis'd no less to them.

*Banq.* If all be true,  
You have a Title to a Crown, as well  
As to the *Thane of Cawdor*. It seems strange;  
But many times to win us to our harm,  
The Instruments of darkness tell us truths,  
And tempt us with low trifles, that they may  
Betray us in the things of high concern.

*Macb.* Th' have told me truth as to the name of *Cawdor* [*aside*.  
That may be prologue to the name of King.  
Less Titles shou'd the greater still fore-run,  
The morning Star doth usher in the Sun.  
This strange prediction is in as strange a manner  
Deliver'd: neither can be good nor ill,  
If ill; 'twou'd give no earnest of success,  
Beginning in a truth: I'm *Thane of Cawdor*;  
If good? why am I then perplexed with doubt?



My future bliss causes my present fears,  
 Fortune, methinks, which rains down Honour on me,  
 Seems to rain bloud too : *Duncan* does appear  
 Clowded by my increasing Glories : but  
 These are but dreams.

*Banq.* Look how my Partner's rap'd !

*Macb.* If Chance will have me King ; Chance may bestow  
 A Crown without my stir.

*Banq.* His Honours are surprizes, and resemble  
 New Garments, which but seldom fit men well,  
 Unless by help of use.

*Macb.* Come, what come may ;  
 Patience and time run through the roughest day.

*Banq.* Worthy *Macbeth* ! we wait upon your leisure.

*Macb.* I was reflecting upon past transactions ;  
 Worthy *Macduff* ; your pains are register'd, etc.

The following extract corresponds with I. iv. 50-53 : —

Stars ! hide your fires,  
 Let no light see my black and deep desires.  
 The strange Idea of a bloody act  
 Does into doubt all my resolves distract.  
 My eyes shall at my hand connive, the Sun  
 Himself should wink when such a deed is done.

With I. vii. 1-28, this corresponds : —

*Macb.* If it were well when done ; then it were well  
 It were done quickly ; if his Death might be  
 Without the Death of nature in myself,  
 And killing my own rest ; it wou'd suffice ;  
 But deeds of this complexion still return  
 To plague the doer, and destroy his peace :  
 Yet let me think ; he's here in double trust.  
 First, as I am his Kinsman, and his Subject,  
 Strong both against the Deed : then as his Host,  
 Who should against his murderer shut the door,  
 Not bear the Sword myself. Besides, this *Duncan*  
 Has born his faculties so meek, and been  
 So clear in his great office ; that his Vertues,  
 Like Angels, plead against so black a deed ;  
 Vaulting Ambition ! thou o're-leap'st thy self  
 To fall upon another : now, what news ?

With II. i. 31-64, and II. ii. 50-63, compare these extracts : —

*Macb.* Go bid your Mistress, when she is undrest,  
To strike the Closet-bell, and I'll go to bed.  
Is this a dagger which I see before me ?  
The hilt draws towards my hand; come, let me grasp thee :  
I have thee not, and yet I see thee still;  
Art thou not fatal Vision, sensible  
To feeling as to sight ? or, art thou but  
A dagger of the mind, a false creation  
Proceeding from the brain, opprest with heat.  
My eyes are made the fools of th'other senses;  
Or else worth all the rest: I see thee still,  
And on thy blade are stains of reeking blood.  
It is the bloody business that thus  
Informs my eyesight; now, to half the world  
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams infect  
The health of sleep; now witchcraft celebrates  
Pale Heccate's Offerings; now murder is  
Alarm'd by his Nights Centinel: the wolf,  
Whose howling seems the watch-word to the dead:  
But whilst I talk, he lives: hark, I am summon'd;  
O *Duncan*, hear it not, for 'tis a bell  
That rings my Coronation, and thy Knell.

*Macb.* I'll go no more;  
I am afraid to think what I have done.  
What then, with looking on it, shall I do ?

*La. Macb.* Give me the daggers, the sleeping and the dead  
Are but as pictures; 'tis the eye of childhood  
That fears a painted Devil: with his blood  
I'll stain the faces of the Grooms; by that  
It will appear their guilt.

[*Exit La. Macbeth.*

[*Knock within.*

*Macb.* What knocking's that ?  
How is't with me, when every noise affrights me ?  
What hands are here ! can the Sea afford  
Water enough to wash away the stains ?  
No, they would sooner add a tincture to  
The Sea, and turn the green into a red.

For the disputed porter scene, II. iii., this is the substitute : —

*Enter Lenox and Macbeth's Servant*

*Lenox.* You sleep soundly, that so much knocking  
Could not wake you.

*Serv.* Labour by day causes rest by night.

The 'Old Man' of the fourth scene of the same act of the original, who begins with his 'Three score and ten I can remember well,' is changed to 'Seyton' in this Adaptation, to whom is given later in the sleep-walking scene the Physician's part also. In his mouth old tales have no special pertinence, so the 'Three score and ten' is left out. So also is the tale which Mr. Fleay considers un-Shakespearian, and the sententious couplet put in the Old Man's mouth with equivocal Polonius-like effect to close this scene in which the Holinshed gossip was introduced.

A scene follows this in the Adaptation which makes Macduff with his wife meet the witches. It has, of course, no basis at all in Shakespeare's original; and the next scenes to offer any profitable comparison of diction and taste are the Hecate scene of III. v. 1-37, on account of the omissions from the Adaptation of the significant lines 30-33, also of lines 12 and 13 of the original, and the witch scene of Act IV. from which the symbolism of the apparitions is shorn, the lines corresponding to IV. i. 50-126 running thus:—

*Macb.* I conjure you by that which you profess.  
How e're you come to know it answer me.  
Though you let loose the raging Winds to shake whole Towns,  
Though bladed Corn be lodg'd, and Trees blown down.  
Though Castles tumble on their Warder's heads;  
Though Palaces and trowning Pyramids  
Are swallow'd up in Earth-quakes. Answer me.

1. Speak.
2. Pronounce.
3. Demand.
4. I'll answer thee.

*Macb.* What Destinie's appointed for my Fate?

*Hec.* Thou double *Thane* and King; beware Macduffe:  
Avoiding him, Macbeth is safe enough.

*Macb.* What e're thou art for thy Kind Caution, Thanks.

*Hec.* Be bold and bloody, and man's hatred scorn.  
Thou shall be harm'd by none of Woman born'd.

*Mach.* Then live *Macduffe*; what need I fear thy power:  
But none can be too sure, thou shalt not live,  
That I may tell pale-hearted fear it lies,  
And sleep in spite of Thunder.

*Hec.* Be Confident, be Proud, and take no care  
Who wages War, or where Conspirers are,  
*Macbeth* shall like a lucky Monarch Raign,  
Till Birnam Wood Shalt come to *Dunsinain*.

*Mach.* Can Forrests move? the Prophetie is good,  
If I shall never fall till the great Wood  
Of *Birnan* rise; thou may'st presume *Macbeth*  
To live out Nature's Lease, and pay thy breath  
To Time and mortal Custom. Yet my heart  
Longs for more Knowledge: Tell me if your art  
Extends so far: Shall *Banquo's* Issue o're  
This Kingdom reign?

*All.* Enquire no more.

*Mach.* I will not be deny'd. Ha! [*Cauldron sinks*  
An eternal Curse fall on you; let me know  
Why sinks that *Cauldron* and what noise is this?

1. *Witch.* Appear. 2. appear, 3. appear.  
Wound through his Eyes, his harden'd Heart,  
Like Shaddows come, and straight depart.

*A shaddow of eight Kings, and Banquo's Ghost after them pass by.*

*Mach.* Thy Crown offends my sight. A second too like the first.  
A third resembles him: a fourth too like the former:  
Ye filthy Hags, will they Succeed  
Each other still till Dooms-day?  
Another yet; a seventh? I'll see no more:  
And yet the eighth appears.  
Ha! the bloody *Banquo* smiles upon me,  
And by his smiling on me, seems to say  
That they are all Successors of his race.

*Hec.* Ay, Sir, all this is so: etc.

Instead of the eloquent silence in which Lady Macbeth is wrapped about at the close of Shakespeare's play, before and after the sleep-walking scene, the spoil-all scene, quoted below,

appears ; and from the Adaptation, too, are missing both the caution of the Physician that all cause of harming herself be removed, and the announcement that by 'self and violent hands' she found relief, as the Queen Jokasta of Sophokles did after a similar silence. The insensibility of Macbeth is also altered by this scene :—

*Macb.* *Seaton*, go bid the Army March.

*Seat.* The posture of affairs requires your Presence.

*Macb.* But the Indosposition of my Wife  
Detains me here.

*Seat.* Th' Enemy is upon our borders, Scotland's in danger.

*Macb.* So is my Wife, and I am doubly so.

I am sick in her, and my Kingdom too. *Seaton.*

*Seat.* Sir.

*Macb.* The Spur of my Ambition prompts me to go  
And make my Kingdom safe, but Love which softens me  
To pity her in her distress, curbs my Resolves.

*Seat.* He's strangely disorder'd.

*Macb.* Yet why should Love since confin'd, desire  
To controul Ambition, for whose spreading hopes  
The world's too narrow. It shall not; Great Fires  
Put out the Less; *Seaton* go bid my Grooms  
Make ready; Ile not delay my going.

*Seat.* I go.

*Macb.* Stay, *Seaton*, stay, Compassion calls me back.

*Seat.* He looks and moves disorderly.

*Macb.* I'll not go yet.

*Enter a Servant who whispers Macbeth*

*Seat.* Well, Sir.

*Macb.* Is the Queen asleep ?

*Seat.* What makes 'em whisper and his countenance change ?  
Perhaps some new design has had ill success.

*Macb.* *Seaton*, Go see what posture our affairs are in.

*Seat.* I shall, and give you notice Sir.

[*Exit Seaton*]

*Enter Lady Macbeth*

*Macb.* How does my Gentle Love ?

*Lady Mb.* *Duncan* is dead.

*Macb.* No words of that.

*Lady Mb.* And yet to Me he Lives.



His fatal Ghost is now my Shadow, and pursues me  
Where e're I go.

*Macb.* It cannot be My Dear,  
Your Fears have misinform'd your eyes.

*Lady Mb.* See there; believe your own.  
Why do you follow Me? I did not do it.

*Macb.* Methinks there's nothing.

*Lady Mb.* If you have Valour force him hence.  
Hold, hold he's gone. Now you look strangely.

*Macb.* 'Tis the strange error of your Eyes.

*Lady Mb.* But the Strange error of my Eyes  
Proceeds from the strange Action of your Hands.  
Distraction does by fits possess my head,  
Because a Crown unjustly covers it.  
I stand so high that I am giddy grown.  
A Mist does cover me, as Clouds the top  
Of Hills. Let us get down apace.

*Macb.* If by your high ascent you giddy grow,  
'Tis when you cast your Eyes on things below.

*Lady Mb.* You may in Peace resign the ill gain'd Crown.  
Why should you labour still to be unjust?  
There has been too much Blood already spilt.  
Make not the Subjects Victims to your guilt.

*Macb.* Can you think that a crime, which you did once  
Provoke me to commit, had not your breath  
Blown my ambition up into a Flame  
*Duncan* had yet been living.

### Sleep in the Elizabethan Poets

COME, Sleepe! O Sleepe, the certaine knot of peace,  
The baiting-place of wit, the balme of woe,  
The poore man's wealth, the prisoner's release,  
Th' indifferent judge between the high and low;  
With shield of prooffe shield me from out the prease  
Of those fierce darts Dispaire at me doth throw;  
O make in me these civill warres to cease;  
I will good tribute pay, if thou do so.  
Take thou of me smooth pillowes, sweetest bed,  
A chamber deafe of noise and blind of light,  
A rosie garland and a wearie hed:

And if these things as being thine by right,  
Move not thy heavy grace, thou shalt in me,  
Livelier than else-where Stella's image see.

—PHILIP SIDNEY, 'Astrophel and Stella,' xxxix. 1581-1591.

CARE-CHARMER sleepe, sonne of the sable night,  
Brother to death, in silent darknes borne:  
Relieve my languish and restore the light,  
With darke forgetting of my care returne.  
And let the day be time enough to mourne  
The shipwracke of my ill-adventured youth:  
Let waking eyes suffice to waile their scorne,  
Without the torment of the night's untruth.  
Cease dreams, th' Images of day-desires,  
To modell forth the passions of the morrow:  
Never let rising Sunne approve you liars  
To adde more griefe to aggravate my sorrow;  
Still let me sleepe, imbracing clouds in vaine,  
And never wake to feele the daye's disdaine.

—SAMUEL DANIEL, 'Delia,' liv. 1594.

CARE-CHARMER sleepe! Sweet ease in restless misery!  
The captive's liberty, and his freedom's song!  
Balme of the bruised heart! Man's chief felicity!  
Brother of quiet death, when life is too too long!  
A comedy it is, and now an history;  
What is not sleepe unto the feeble mind!  
It easeth him that toils and him that's sorry;  
It makes the deafe to hear, to see the blind;  
Ungentle sleepe, thou helpest all but me!  
For when I sleepe my soul is vexed most.  
It is Fidessa that doth master thee;  
If she approche, alas, thy power is lost!  
But here she is! See how he runs amain!  
I fear at night he will not come again.

—BARTHOLOMEW GRIFFIN, 'To Fidessa,' xv. 1596.







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